

A CLASS ACT

Reagan's tax and budget cuts
are a windfall for the rich.



Mary Lloyd Estrin

Exclusive: Capitalists supply arms to
El Salvador

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THE INSIDE STORY



The Davis-Bacon guarantee of "prevailing" wages on federal construction sites may be watered down by Reagan's administration.

Does labor mean what it says?

By David Moberg

BAL HARBOUR, FLA.

It's hard to tell whether all the members of the AFL-CIO executive board realize how comparatively radical their economic program is. In part it is a program for moderate redistribution of income to lower income groups and for a low-interest money policy, which together would expand demand and get the economy moving. The other part involves various mechanisms of price, credit and investment controls and targeted use of federal funds to control inflation, increase productivity, bolster slumping economic sectors and geographical areas and build modern public underpinnings of the economy, such as mass transit. The addition of a new Reconstruction Finance Corporation—in which government, labor and business representatives would make decisions on economic objectives and government aid or investment—makes the proposal an elementary form of economic planning to meet the full employment and low inflation objectives of the Humphrey-Hawkins legislation. (See the text on page 18.)

But the AFL-CIO sometimes seems to take its own proposals about as seriously as Congress and the White House have taken the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment legislation. At the Bal Harbour executive council meeting, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and other labor leaders failed to dramatize how their proposals offer an approach diametrically opposite to that of Reagan. For example, William Wynn, president of the Food and Commercial Workers and one of the more liberal union presidents, told reporters at a breakfast meeting, "We support the president in his philosophy to reduce inflation and unemployment, but we believe some of his proposals are wrong and propose a slightly different pattern."

It is more than a "slightly different pattern," even though there are serious shortcomings to the AFL-CIO program. There is, for example, virtually no recognition of any positive role for public investment and ownership in various forms. Labor secretary Ray Donovan delivered his little homily that "we can't have wealth without having wealthy people," and Kirkland commented that "I have no problem with that." But wealth can be accumulated for investment by other means more democratic, cooperative and public than the enrichment of private investors, and the AFL-CIO is beginning to recognize that with its proposals for more constructive use of union pension funds. (Kirkland

ironically noted that if the new administration was going to restrict aid to the "deserving poor" it could at least limit tax breaks to the "deserving rich," those who will make productive investments.)

Also, there is insufficient democratization of the planning procedures in the AFL-CIO proposals. Other groups such as environmentalists, minorities and women have legitimate concerns, and planning needs contributions from the ground up. Likewise, some of the aims of the AFL-CIO plan could be debated, especially its commitment to such projects as more military spending, nuclear power or synfuels. Yet the federation does believe, as Kirkland said, that "there is a positive role for government in our society.... The problems that we face and the needs that this country has are not going to be overcome simply by de-taxing, de-regulating and unleashing McDonalds and Burger Kings."

The AFLCIO stumbles on its "pragmatism." Here one can find a lesson from the New Right. A few years ago, the Kemp-Roth tax proposal was denounced as lunacy by most Republicans and by much of the business press. But the right hammered away. Today Kemp-Roth is administration policy and possibly soon the law of the land. If the labor movement were willing to stick as forcefully to its guns as the New Right did and to promote its alternative plan, then it could provide one of the poles around which a political answer to Reaganism could develop.

That would require a combative stance, challenging corporate power and priorities. But the post-war strategy of the labor movement has instead emphasized partnership with the corporations. In recent years, especially with the organized management attack on labor law reform, labor officials—first Doug Fraser, then George Meany—declared that management had opened up a new "class war" against labor and broke off top-level consultative arrangements.

The critical issue for labor is one of institutional security and influence—a guarantee that there will be no effort to destroy unions and assurances that union officials will be consulted by governments, whatever their party or political stripe. Beyond that, of course, there is a commitment to a New Deal/Great Society legacy of programs that are of general benefit to the poor and to workers, making up for weaker contracts and protecting the unorganized. Such general protective legislation, whether for minimum wage or occupational safety standards, indirectly benefits the minority of organized workers by reducing competition that could undermine their contractual standards. In exchange, the labor movement generally supports corporate investment strategies and the capitalist system.

Union leaders plaintively ask industrialists: why all this warfare, this drive for right-to-work laws and attacks on labor? As AFL-CIO legislative director Ray Denison observed, "Here you have a labor movement that's conciliatory, that wants the system to work, that believes in free enterprise maybe more than they do, and doesn't go in the street." But the right wing continues to offer proposals in Congress for a subminimum wage for teenagers, a national right-to-work law, a labor court in place of the National Labor Relations Board (slowing grievances and making their settlement more expensive), a "workers' bill of rights" that would further delay union recognition elections, gutting of OSHA and elimination of requirements for payment of prevailing wages on government projects.

A back-door offensive.

The Reagan administration strategy, and increasingly the strategy being adopted by right-wingers in Congress

such as Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), chairman of the Human Resources Committee, is to put all these anti-union legislative projects on the back burner, since many of the aims can be accomplished administratively. Stop OSHA? Simply cut back the number of inspectors. End the Davis-Bacon act (prevailing wages for construction work)? Administratively redefine "prevailing wage" to drive down the wage floor beneath construction labor. The right is more likely to attack affirmative action, figuring that it will not provoke any outcry among their constituents, but carefully avoid giving labor a rallying point on anti-labor legislation in Congress.

The main institutional attack on labor is likely to come under the guise of new investigations into labor corruption. Hatch plans hearings and Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) is currently looking into the East Coast Longshoremen. (NBC-TV has a special series planned for March.) The corruption charge can neutralize labor politically, separate leaders from the rank and file and divert attention while Reagan and the right concentrate on their first order of business, pushing through the economic package.

Unfortunately, the labor movement shows no signs of dealing effectively with the challenge. Though a new public relations committee was established by the executive council, the ethical practices committee stands vacant, and there are no plans to revive it.

Labor's new embrace of Republicans is an attempt to preserve its institutional recognition. The "national accord" labor had with Carter remains their ideal. A new labor-management committee is being set up, this time without government participation. But such pragmatism and cooperation may lead, as political consultant Vic Kamber suggested, to some unions being tempted to cut their own deals for self-preservation. If the Republicans cooled down the extreme right and accommodated labor institutionally while stressing job creation, they could win considerable new labor support. Machinist president William Winpisinger lambasts such cooperation as a one-way street, where labor never gets its *quid pro quo* and ends up simply "carrying the corporate hod. What the Republicans mean by cooperation is we sing the tune and you sign on." A prime example of the one-way street is the synfuels program, which was strongly backed by the AFL-CIO and the building trades in particular. Now three major projects are being planned with contracts specifying non-union labor. But the corporations and the right know how to get their *quids* and more: in exchange for import restrictions on cars (which help auto companies as much as workers) the Reagan administration is thinking of demanding wage concessions.

With a short-range perspective, the balance of power stays in private hands, Winpisinger says: "Pragmatism in labor is identical with private decision-making. We have to democratize that process. The public interest ought to be paramount."

There are occasional stirrings toward making labor more politically forceful and combative, despite the trends toward pragmatism and institutional accommodation. The federation is holding regional meetings on politics this spring and resolved to revitalize central and state labor councils. And new funding mechanisms proliferate.

But the problem is not just money and not just organization. The problem is also ideas. Right beneath their noses, the leaders of labor have the beginnings of an alternative program that has never been seriously tried, partly because it has never been seriously pushed.

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IN THESE TIMES



Only the "voting poor"—veterans and the aged—have been spared by the Reagan cut.

To the wealthy go the spoils

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

THERE ARE TWO WAYS OF REPORTING on a president's new economic plan. One is to reiterate what its designers say it will do. The other is to analyze, on the basis of its concrete proposals, what it will really do.

Experience commends the latter approach. In 1977, when he announced his budget revisions, Jimmy Carter stuck with his projection of a balanced budget in 1981. The next year, when he presented his first full budget, he projected 5 percent unemployment and inflation in 1981 and 4 percent in 1983.

Ronald Reagan has followed a similar course. He predicts on the basis of his program a balanced budget by 1984 (one year later than his campaign promise). Treasury Secretary Donald Regan's projection of investment growth—11 percent a year for the next five years, with 12 percent of the annual gross national product expended on plant and equipment—would mark the next five years as the most prosperous in American history.

The Reagan budget also predicts a steady decline in unemployment and inflation from 7.8 and 11.1 percent, respec-

tively, in 1981 to 5.6 and 4.2 percent in 1986. With the Reagan tax cuts, individuals' tax bills as a percentage of their income will supposedly decline from 11.6 percent in 1980 to 10.8 percent in 1984.

But there is little reason to believe that Reagan's economic strategy—which features a 30 percent cut in tax rates, a \$38.5 billion reduction in non-defense spending and the evisceration of the federal regulatory apparatus—will achieve any of these goals. Instead, it can be argued that Reagan will preside over a net increase in individual taxes, greater unemployment, larger deficits and continued sluggish growth. In addition, Reagan's program will place new and inordinate burdens on the poor, the minorities, the Northern urban working class. Eventually, it will hurt business as well.

Redistributing wealth.

Reagan's proposals represent a certain accommodation between the supply-siders like Office of Management and the Budget Director David Stockman, Treasury Undersecretary Norman Ture, and Rep. Jack Kemp and the Republican traditionalists like Council of Economic Advisors head Murray Weidenbaum and Treasury Secretary Regan.

The tax proposals, drafted by Ture, seek to increase individual saving and

corporate investment. For Ture and other supply-siders, the principal fault of the current tax system is its progressivity. The increase of tax rates with additional income discourages work among the lower classes and saving among the upper classes. "Progressivity in the tax code is the central problem," Kemp said in a recent interview. "The more you redistribute wealth, the more you inhibit the creation of wealth."

Ture's tax proposal for individuals, modeled on the Kemp-Roth bill, therefore attacks marginal tax rates, reducing them by 30 percent across the board over a three-year period. As a result, the tax proposal tends to redistribute income from the lower to the upper classes. Middle-income families (\$20,000 to \$50,000) now pay 50.3 percent of the income tax burden; after three years of the Reagan proposal, they will pay 51.2 percent; the lower-income proportion of the tax burden will also increase from 15.9 to 17.9 percent, while upper-income families will have their burden reduced from 33.8 to 30.9 percent.

Jay Angoff of the Tax Reform Research Group, using figures supplied by the Joint Committee on Taxation, calculated the 1981 tax burden, assuming the first phase of Kemp-Roth along with the prevailing rate of inflation and increased

Social Security taxes. While these results do not perfectly match the Reagan proposals, they are similar enough. Taxpayers in the \$5000-\$10,000 range will actually find their taxes increase by \$46 in 1981, taxpayers in the \$10,000-\$15,000 bracket will save only \$5, while taxpayers in the \$100,000-\$200,000 bracket will save \$2,078.

And in the final tally, middle-income as well as lower-income taxpayers might find their tax bill rising. Besides "bracket creep" from inflation and higher Social Security taxes, these taxpayers will also have to pay either increased user fees or increased city and state taxes as localities try to make up for lost federal revenues. Reagan indirectly acknowledged this by proposing to the nation's governors that he raise federal gasoline taxes by two cents and refund the revenues to the states.

In other words, Reagan's central tax proposal is not really a tax cut at all. Its main purpose is to redistribute wealth to upper-income groups on the assumption that they will use their increased income to fuel the nation's economy.

Reagan's other tax proposals—reducing capital gains taxes from 28 to 20 percent; reducing corporate taxes by speeding up the depreciation period for plant and equipment (the "10-5-3" plan)—would have a similar effect. Since investors and stockholders are primarily drawn from upper-income groups, these proposals would also shift income upwards.

Redistributing government.

Reagan's cuts in social spending are based on more traditional premises. The cuts are necessary to offset the large deficit already projected under Carter's Fiscal Year 1982 budget and potentially enlarged by \$53.9 billion in tax revenue losses and \$7.2 billion in defense expenditure increases under the Reagan plan. With a \$41.4 billion cut in spending (\$2.9 billion in wasteful defense spending), the projected 1982 deficit is \$45 billion, \$17.5 billion higher than Carter's projected deficits. (With actual deficits running about twice as high as projections during the last four years, one can wonder about this figure, too.)

Along with the traditionalists, Reagan is concerned about soaring budget deficits causing inflation and high interest rates.

Continued on page 6

Some other ways to cut the budget

By John Judis and David Moberg

NOW THAT EVERYONE HAS their knives sharpened and hacking away at the federal budget has become a patriotic duty, we decided to propose some slicing of our own. Not that we think the budget has passed some imaginary line and become intrinsically "too big." Federal expenditures take only 0.6 percent more of the gross national product now than they did in the late '60s and the federal civilian payroll is actually smaller. And many national governments in other industrialized countries, some not as rich as the U.S., spend a significantly higher percentage of their national incomes.

Also, even if unbalanced budgets do contribute somewhat to inflation, they are not the main cause of the contemporary upwards spiral (something even the Stockman-style budget-cutters quietly acknowledge as they plan increases in the deficit).

Moreover, budget deficits and surpluses make little sense if not considered in light of the performance of the economy as a whole, something the "supply-siders" also acknowledge. If the economy were operating at close

to full employment, anticipated budget deficits would shrivel, even at current levels of spending. Partly that is because many of the social programs so despised by Republicans—such as trade adjustment assistance, extended unemployment benefits and food stamps—cost less when fewer people need them. Partly it is because revenues would increase.

"Any jackass can balance a budget on paper," AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland said derisively after the Reagan budget was announced. But if the administration plans for economic growth fall short, as they surely will, then the federal deficits will rise even more, making them something less even than jackasses.

But there's nothing especially good about having deficits. Occasionally, during a recession like that of 1961, a deficit can stimulate investment and growth. But during the current period of stagflation, with descending cycles of recession and recovery, the expansionary effects of deficits are muted. With prices rising rapidly and demand uncertain, businesses do not necessarily use the extra funds created by government deficits to expand their productive capacity. And during both recoveries and recession, these deficits tend to be inflationary, even though

there is little evidence that a balanced budget would seriously stop the upward trend.

Deficits have another drawback as well. Interest payments on the deficit—usually to banks, corporations and foreign governments that buy U.S. Treasury notes—take up a growing fraction of the budget. For Fiscal Year 1982, interest on the national debt will claim 10 percent of the budget or \$106.5 billion. For comparison, the total outlays for transportation in the Carter budget were \$21.6 billion.

But there is another reason for cutting, beyond cyclical fine-tuning or the rising burden of interest payments. Many billions of dollars are spent for programs that primarily benefit the rich. Even programs originally intended for

low or middle-income individuals have become bloated as higher-income people grab a huge and unwarranted share. There are also programs that are wasteful or even dangerous to the nation's peace or to its environment that cannot be justified in terms of the common welfare but do make many contractors rich.

The budget is not sacrosanct. It makes sense to cut. But the question is—where? Reagan's plan hits the poor, working people and city dwellers, especially in the older industrial regions, especially hard. Their "safety net" is pulled out from under them, even if the "net" under veterans and retired people is protected. Key subsidies to corporations, many in the form of "tax expenditures," that is, special tax breaks,

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IN SHORT

M.M. attacks S.F.

The fundamentalists rolled into San Francisco last month with the announced goal of "eradicating homosexuality" in that city. A new anti-gay coalition spearheaded by a group called In God We Trust, Inc., and including several local chapters of the Moral Majority, said it would soon launch a \$3-million media campaign to build anti-gay feeling in the Bay Area and "to attempt to persuade homosexuals to give up their lifestyle."

In response to the anti-gay offensive, about 35 leaders from San Francisco's gay and lesbian communities began meeting regularly to talk strategy. City supervisor and gay activist Harry Britt told *In These Times* that the best antidote to the ad blitz "is what we're doing every day, which is giving the people of San Francisco a positive experience of the gay community through interaction on every level. I don't think there's any kind of media campaign that can offset that."

Britt is also convinced that any anti-gay political initiatives in San Francisco would fail. For example, he said, if the fundamentalists tried to repeal the city's gay rights ordinance, "we could put together in 24 hours an operation that would destroy them. Our real concern about them is on two levels. One is that they'll stir up hatred that will reach some of these troubled kids who are beating up gay people these days and attacking us on the street. But much more, we're concerned about what they might do nationally, in constituencies that are not as supportive of gays as San Francisco." Indeed, Britt and others believe that the fundamentalists' stop-and-start rhythm of announcing and then cancelling press conferences here is calculated mostly to stir up funds and publicity in the "Gay Mecca" before moving on to areas where the gay population is smaller and less organized.

Soldier of Fortune

On Feb. 24, members of Washington's "human rights community" held a Washington press conference to oppose the confirmation of Ernest W. Lefever as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. The 61-year-old president of the right-wing Ethics and Policy Center "seems to have a blind eye to human rights violations by right-wing military dictatorships," according to Sen. Alan D. Cranston (D-Cal.), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Lefever recently told the *New York Times* Charles Mohr that "scolding" a regime like Argentina's "didn't bring anybody back to life and was counterproductive." He added that he was "utterly convinced that the most effective way to get reform is quiet diplomacy" and maintenance of friendly relations with free-thinking despots. Lefever has also turned up as a vocal participant on behalf of industrial interests (and *Fortune* magazine) in the Nestle infant formula scandal (*In These Times*, Feb. 18).

Poletown reprieve

Residents of Detroit's "Poletown" neighborhood, who are fighting to save their homes and surrounding buildings from the wrecker's ball (*In These Times*, Feb. 4), have new reasons for hope. On the legal front, the Michigan Supreme Court has agreed to review an unfavorable ruling in their lawsuit against the city-supported project to clear land for the parking lot of a planned General Motors Cadillac plant.

Adding to the headaches of GM's project planners are Reagan's proposed budget slashes. If the cuts in—and eventual elimination of—the federal Economic Development Administration are approved, the city stands to lose a vital \$30-million chunk of the \$200 million project.

A bit of justice

On Feb. 23, a Phoenix, Ariz., federal jury convicted Patrick W. Hanigan of obstructing interstate commerce by kidnapping, robbing and torturing three undocumented Mexican farmworkers in 1976. His brother, Thomas, was acquitted on the same charges by another jury. This is the third time the Hanigan brothers have been tried on charges stemming from the incident (*In These Times*, Jan. 28).

While Patrick Hanigan, who faces a maximum penalty of 60 years in jail and a \$30,000 fine, awaits sentencing on March 30, the three Mexican victims—Eleazar Ruelas Zavala, Manuel Garcia Loya and Bernabe Herrera Mata—have hired a team of lawyers to press their long-standing \$3.8 million personal injury suit against both of the Hanigans.

—Josh Kornbluth



Assaults from Reagan and the 97th Congress may force this OSHA industrial hygienist (left) onto the endangered species list.

New coalition will defend OSHA and Clean Air Act

The AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department (IUD) and the nation's major environmental organizations have teamed up to fight impending assaults on the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) and the Clean Air Act by the Reagan administration and the 97th Congress.

Environmental Network," the new coalition will operate initially in 12 states, as well as the nation's capital, to mobilize grassroots support for strengthening—not weakening—laws and regulations that protect workplace safety and health conditions and the general environment. Citizen lobbying, rallies and education projects are on the agenda.

Formation of the network was announced in February at AFL-CIO headquarters, where IUD president Howard D. Samuel noted that "the word 'regulation' seems to have been adopted as a favorite codeword by businessmen and certain economists looking for a scapegoat for what's wrong with our economy. As far as working people are concerned, whatever is ailing our economy, it isn't OSHA regulations. OSHA saves lives."

The labor federation's Industrial Union Department includes 56 affiliated unions with six million members. Sierra Club president Joe Fontaine said formation of the network "inaugurates a new era of cohesiveness and cooperation between labor and environmental organizations."

Network leaders drew up a statement of principles declaring that, despite some differences in the past between organized labor and environmentalists, "there is no basic conflict between economic and environmental, health and safety interests." The statement adds that "the loss of jobs through environmental and health and safety regulations has been wildly exaggerated. ... It is important to resist those who would divide us into separate camps in order to weaken our laws or undermine enforcement."

The 12 states targeted for the coalition's initial activities are Texas, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Ohio, New York, Louisiana, Illinois, Califor-

nia, Oregon, Washington, Tennessee and Pennsylvania.

—Calvin Zon

Left economists meet the press

The extent of the problem became clear after the first two workshops on "The Economic Outlook" and "Domestic Woes," when a journalist asked the panel of economists for a definition of the term "convertability." Amid general laughter—and several futile efforts to explain the system of international currency exchange—the economists and journalists who attended a two-day conference in New York City sponsored by the Union for Radical Political Economists (URPE) realized that they had a long way to go, beginning with the creation of a common language.

The economists called the conference—actually a series of workshops on the economic crisis—for two reasons: to present their analyses of such issues as the arms race, imperialism and Reaganomics to journalists, and to learn from those journalists how better to get the story out. The shared conclusion at the end of the mid-February session was that progress had been made on both fronts—most immediately by distributing a phone list of conference participants so that journalists in need of a left analysis can find someone quickly while an economist with a story can reach a journalist to get it out.

Journalists at the conference admitted that public ignorance of left economic views was in part the fault of media workers themselves, who often find it easier to rely on the abundant press resources of corporations. But the leftist economists also confessed to being overly academic in their prose and too scholastic in their choice of and approach to subject matter.

At the closing session, called "Journalists Speak to Economists," *Village Voice* columnist Alexander Cockburn said, "I need someone I

can call on Monday afternoon for a left economic analysis when I'm writing about something like the Reagan administration's attack on the food stamp program or legal services. But the left economists I call tend to take a long-term view of these things that ends up almost supporting the right. You always wind up talking about the crisis of capitalism and saying that, in the long run, conservative solutions won't work. We need something more middle-term, instead of discussions about the falling rate of profits."

The conference made a good start in that direction with workshops on such topics as the political economy of energy, understanding Reagan's "supply-side" economics and minorities in the U.S. economy.

While no one from the *New York Times* or *Wall Street Journal* attended the URPE conference, writers and editors from left, labor and other alternative publications, as well as freelancers, were out in force. Economist David Gordon suggested that it might be important for the left to get its side of the story out through grassroots methods, instead of trying to rely only on the mainstream media. He mentioned the work of the Institute for Labor Education and Research as one example of this approach.

One organizer of the conference suggested that journalists and economists around the country should organize similar events in their areas. Meanwhile, journalists who want to work with left economists can contact URPE at 41 Union Square West, Room 901, New York, N.Y. 10003, or call (212) 691-5722.

—Dave Lindorff

A small circle of 200 friends

Liberal union political officials at last month's AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Florida expressed the hope that a new Senate Democratic Leadership Circle—organized by Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Cal.), the labor favorite who started the once-active California Democratic Clubs—will put new spark in the Democratic Party. The Circle will consist of 200 individual or group donors, each of which will contribute \$15,000 a year for two years to build a 1982 campaign chest of \$6 million. The Circle's membership was limited to 200 so that "the people could understand they were going to be taken seriously," as an aide to Cranston said.

Though Cranston is a liberal, there is no intention of using the Circle to discipline conservative senators or promote any such tendency within the party. But the committee can pick up expenses for Senate campaigns, effectively raising the limit that can be spent on them, as well as draw in new contributors or more money from those who already reached their limit with one candidate.

Liberal senators targeted by the right will benefit from the Circle, and left-wing efforts to reinvigorate the Democrats could also reap some rewards.

Though the structure will do little to democratize or liberalize the party, it may add to the unions' clout—which is already increasing with the addition to the Democratic National Committee of 15 new members-at-large from unions.

—David Moberg

IN THE NATION

CITIES

Hard sell passes Cleveland tax hike

By Dan Marschall

CLEVELAND

ON MONDAY MORNING, FEB. 16, Councilwoman Barbara Pringle heard some very distressing news about this city's public services. According to several knowledgeable city workers, the administration of Mayor George V. Voinovich recently had purchased some 16 new vehicles for the sewer and Emergency Medical Services (EMS) departments but had not yet deployed them. Why? Because it was the week before Clevelanders would decide whether to hike city taxes. Since people were being told that the tax increase was essential to buy this kind of equipment and improve city services, Pringle figured that the mayor didn't want those vehicles out on the streets before the tax vote.

The newspapers had been filled with pro-tax stories, so Pringle thought this was a good chance to balance the coverage. She called the *Plain Dealer*, Ohio's largest daily newspaper, and told the city

Mayor Voinovich told school kids the city's emergency units would be slow to respond if a parent suffered a heart attack.

hall reporter about her discovery. The reporter didn't think it was significant and refused to investigate. Then Pringle called the *Press*, the afternoon paper, and left a message. No one called back. Finally, she contacted all three local television stations. None was interested. The story never got out.

That's the way things went for the op-

ponents of this city's latest tax referendum. On Feb. 17, Clevelanders voted by a decisive 62 percent margin to hike the city's "income tax"—actually a regressive tax on the wages and salaries of people working inside the city—from 1.5 to 2.00 percent.

The vote was a striking victory for Mayor Voinovich, the ethnic Republican who defeated populist Dennis J. Kucinich in November 1979. Voinovich, who comes up for re-election later this year, ran a superb campaign of cutbacks in essential services, threatened cuts, high-powered advertising, mass mailings and community talks—all backed by massive corporate contributions and the complete complicity of the local news media.

Opponents of the tax, led by former Mayor Kucinich and city councilman Jay Westbrook, the Cleveland-area director of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign (OPIC), were simply overwhelmed. "A high-financed campaign really paid off for tax supporters," Westbrook told *In These Times*. "The banks, utilities and downtown business establishment bankrolled a half-million-dollar campaign based on fear, threats and direct service cuts. It was the most divisive and insensitive approach they could have taken to poor and working people in this city." Estimates of the money raised by pro-tax committees range from \$130,000 to \$500,000.

Cutting deals on the council.

The income tax vote was the most recent episode in the ongoing fiscal crisis of Cleveland, which, like other northern cities, has suffered from population loss, corporate disinvestment, and a declining property-tax base. The crisis peaked in December 1978, when the city defaulted on \$14 million in local bank notes. Residents voted a few months later to supplement city revenues by raising the income tax rate from 1.0 to 1.5 percent. Since Voinovich beat Kucinich in the 1979 mayoral race, city finances have been governed by a seven-member Financial Planning and Supervision Commission composed of bankers, businessmen and elected officials.

The first tax increase pumped an addi-



George Voinovich's campaign for a second tax hike pitted workers against fixed-income residents.

tional \$56 million into the city treasury during 1979 and 1980. But halfway through last year Voinovich found that increased costs would still leave a \$16 million deficit at year-end. To balance the budget he sold city land, increased sewer rates, made budget cuts and obtained council approval to place a 33-percent income tax hike on the November ballot.

The tax went down to defeat by almost 14,000 votes.

Voinovich quickly moved to resubmit the tax hike in a special election, but the council balked, demanding that the administration promise certain services for specific wards. "This is a business; this is a game," remarked George L. Forbes, a

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HOUSING

A misguided housing program is better than nothing

By Thomas Brom

SAN FRANCISCO

THE DAY BEFORE PRESIDENT Reagan's economic speech to Congress, people here began lining up before dawn at special centers in Hunter's Point, the Mission, Chinatown and the Western Addition.

Word was out that the city Housing Authority was again taking names for Section 8 rent subsidies—the agency hasn't even kept a waiting list since 1978.

By 4:30 a.m. there were jostling crowds at all four centers. California Hall, near the Civic Center, drew 5,000 people alone. When the janitors opened the doors to get in at 5:30 a.m., the crowd rushed the building.

"We were just overrun," said Tom Gholson, a Housing Authority official. Showing matches and arguments broke out in line. Staff members' attempts to

organize the crowd only made people angrier. Gholson called the Housing Authority security guards and, later, the police. "We had no idea it would be this bad," he said. "Everybody was yelling he was here first. We just had way too many people."

Because the doors were closed against the crowds at 4 p.m., only 3,800 people were able to leave their names to return next month for interviews. The Housing Authority has a total of 580 openings (but neglected to mention that in its ads.)

That was Tuesday. Wednesday night President Reagan announced budget cuts that would trim \$232 million from the Section 8 program. Housing advocates in the Bay Area were taken by surprise, Joan Blackburn of the National Association of Neighborhoods regional office says. "And after the crowd on Tuesday, Reagan's timing was incredible."

"We really don't know yet what it's going to mean for San Francisco," says David Bryson, an attorney for the Na-

tional Housing Law Project in Berkeley. "Reagan wants to cut the number of new units constructed with Section 8 subsidies from 260,000 to 225,000. That's down from around 400,000 new units during the Ford years, which itself was a drop in the bucket. But there's very little new construction in San Francisco anyway."

"Reagan also plans to increase the amount qualifying families must pay for housing from 25 percent to 30 percent of income. That's essentially a 20 percent jump in rent for poor people with no rise in their incomes at all—and amounts to about \$200 million of the projected cuts." There's no question the cuts will hurt. "That's money poor people would otherwise spend for food or clothing," Bryson adds.

The Section 8 program has always been a mixed blessing, a textbook example of "trickle down" housing policies. Rather than subsidize the poor directly, Section 8 provides federal funds to landlords who agree to rent space to people

who otherwise can't afford it. Low-income families pay a set percentage of adjusted gross income, and the government pays the difference between that and "fair market" rent. So subsidies flow to the property owners, contributing to inflation by tagging along behind routine rent increases.

The problems in the conception of the program are compounded by problems of administration and lack of funding. Bryson estimates that barely one family in 10 who qualifies ever makes it even onto the waiting lists. Those lucky few who receive rent "vouchers" must then locate vacant apartments within certain rent ceilings—often nearly impossible in San Francisco, which has the highest housing costs in the nation.

Finally, the landlord has to be willing to accept Section 8 tenants and deal with the government housing bureaucracy. "It's like looking for a doctor who takes MediCal patients, only worse," says

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Spoils

Continued from page 3

But the cuts in social spending have another purpose. The traditionalists have always opposed state social spending, financed through progressive taxation, because it redistributes wealth to the lower classes. Replacing subsidies, drawn from progressive taxes, with user fees—whether for railroad use, education, medical care or the mails—redistributes income back toward the wealthy.

Certain of Reagan's proposals are directly aimed at reducing the wage level of the working class. For instance, eliminating the Trade Adjustment Assistance, which compensates workers laid off because of foreign imports, limiting unemployment compensation and forcing unemployed workers to seek minimum-wage jobs after three months all exert a strong downward pressure on wage levels.

In short, both spending cuts and tax cuts have the same overall effect: to redistribute wealth toward the upper classes. On the individual level, this is supposed to lead to savings and investment; on the corporate level, it is supposed to encourage the purchase of new plant and equipment. Will this program for "getting America moving," which is drawn from the best wisdom of the 1920s, work? Or, besides increasing taxes and enlarging the deficit, could it also inhibit economic growth?

Perverse Keynesianism.

The Reagan program is not altogether hopeless as a vehicle for stimulating the economy. As Jeff Faux and Gar Alperovitz have remarked, Reagan's policies do hearken back to the "perverse Keynesianism" of the John Kennedy era: the use of tax cut-induced budget deficits and military spending rather than socially useful and job-multiplying public works to stimulate demand and investment. These measures, along with the "10-5-3" accelerated depreciation of new plant and equipment, will prevent the economy from sinking into a severe depression. But they won't do much more than that.

There have been two main impediments to industrial growth during the last 10 years. The first has been spiraling inflation, which has discouraged long-term, large-scale investment and encouraged speculation in real estate and collectibles and the use of corporate funds for mergers and the purchase of Treasury bills. The second impediment has been the worldwide excess capacity in key post-war industries like steel, auto and textiles, which has affected the U.S. sometimes more severely than competitors who modernized their equipment after World War II.

As Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff showed in the December 1980 *Monthly Review*, corporate savings have actually increased over the last five years as a percentage of gross national production. The problem with the American economy is not a lack of savings, but a lack of incentive to use those savings for domestic, productive investment.

Reagan's tax proposals essentially ignore these causes of stagnation. His indi-

vidual tax cut would increase the wealthy's disposable income, but it would not affect its disposition. After the 1978 reduction in capital gains taxes, supply-siders promised an increase in productive investment. But the main use of these savings, according to recent surveys, has been for real estate speculation—they fueled "condomania" rather than an industrial revolution. Reagan's cuts may have the same effect.

Reagan's accelerated depreciation plan would spur some investment, but it would not affect industries like steel or auto that are presently operating at a loss and have no need of tax breaks.

Reagan's tax and spending proposals would, if anything, accelerate inflation. By increasing the deficit and the proportion going to military spending (from 24.1 percent to 32.4 percent over the next three years), Reagan will put increased pressure on both prices and interest rates. Over the long term, a decline in workers' real wages could reduce inflation, but corporations have been largely oblivious to wage pressures in their determination of prices. Instead, they have used price increases, rather than increases in output, as a means of expanding their profits.

Reagan's only hope for containing inflation is the Federal Reserve's reduction in money supply growth. In his program, Reagan calls for halving money growth—from about 10 to 11 percent to about 5 percent. But of course reductions in the money supply slow inflation by inducing recession. Even Reaganite Rudolph Penner, the American Enterprise Institute's chief economist, has acknowledged that Reagan's goal of a 11.7 percent increase in nominal GNP along with only a 5 percent growth in the money supply raises certain questions about the program's viability.

Reagan's overall program of redistributing wealth carries ominous echoes of the '20s, as well as of Britain's Margaret Thatcher. In a healthy world economy, particular countries can increase their relative advantage by lowering workers' wage levels. Japan and Western Europe both profited during the '50s and '60s from having lower real wage levels than the U.S.

But amid world capitalist stagnation, with recessions in one country increasingly linked to recessions in other countries, such a general policy is dangerous. It threatens to exacerbate the lack of effective worldwide demand for key industrial products. John Maynard Keynes, who few of the Reagan economists seem to have read, made this point in *The Great Slump of 1930*. "If a particular producer or country cuts wages, then, so long as others do not follow suit, that producer or that country is able to get more of what trade is going," Keynes said. "But if wages are cut all round, the purchasing power of the community as a whole is reduced by the same amount as the reduction of costs; and, again, no

one is further forward."

Reagan and his advisers have little thought for the world economy. Their economic models are non-union, low-wage, high-profit firms that have won out over their rivals. They project Coors or Dart Industries onto the world economy. As they will soon find out, the U.S., let alone the world economy, is much more complicated and much less amenable to free market solutions.

The vicious and the irrational.

Reagan's plan is even worse in the specifics than it is in its general approach. It is a paean to the most irrational and destructive side of the market system. By cutting urban aid and trade assistance, and by encouraging new plant investment rather than rehabilitation, Reagan's program would speed the exodus from the North to the Sunbelt. Because of energy costs and weather changes, some shift in resources is inevitable and desirable. But Reagan would create a veritable army of the dispossessed reminiscent of the British peasants cast off their lands by the enclosure movement.

While the voting poor—senior citizens and veterans—will not be ravaged by the Reagan proposals, the rest of the poor will. Cuts in urban aid, Medicaid, education and food stamps will further lower their standard of living. The substitution of block for categorical grants to states and cities will set back federally-regulated affirmative action programs in hiring and education. Under the Reagan program, both minorities and women will find themselves back in the '50s.

But business will suffer as well. Much of federal spending and regulation was introduced with the support of business. Business got the government to create an infrastructure of roads, schools, sewer systems and other services that it needed to prosper. Now, with the support of short-sighted *nouveaux riches* car dealers and movie moguls, Reagan proposes to let much of that infrastructure rot.

This is nowhere more apparent than in Reagan's energy policy. Inexpensive, safe energy is not merely desirable for freezing consumers in Maine, but also for businesses. But Reagan has virtually left America's energy needs in the hands of the big oil companies, which increasingly monopolize all energy resources. He has cut solar and biomass programs and signed a death warrant on the nation's mass transit and railroad systems. Only nuclear power, which will become obsolete after the next Three Mile Island, is being encouraged by federal spending.

The higher economic costs of energy and transportation and greater social costs of decaying cities will be paid by business as well as consumers. Hopefully at some point both groups might realize that Ronald Reagan is not their man after all.



Andrew Popper/Picture Group



ENERGY

Strange bedfellows oppose synfuels

By Jim Lewis and Robert Rosner

WASHINGTON

LAST YEAR IN CONGRESS, REPRESENTATIVES Toby Moffett (D-Conn.) and David Stockman (R-Mich.) rarely agreed on an issue. But now the two former House colleagues have lined up together against the Democratic congressional leadership, the Department of Energy, Gulf Oil Corp., the governments of Germany and Japan and the ghost of the late Carter administration in opposition to the \$88-billion synfuels program.

"I just hope Dave doesn't back away from these cuts," said Moffett, whose subcommittee on Environment, Energy and Natural Resources last week held two hearings on the synthetic fuels program (and plans an in-depth series). The committee's findings on the DOE/Gulf Solvent Refined Coal II (SRC II) plant proposed for Morgantown, W.Va., and on the Synthetic Fuels Corporation established to boost synfuel development, placed Moffett in direct opposition to his Democratic House Majority Leader Jim Wright and Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd.

"I hate to see the Democratic leadership put this project at the top of their list of programs to save," said Moffett, noting that the \$88-billion synfuel budget, "if abandoned by the federal government, would do as much to reduce the taxpayers' potential burden as eliminating" the Environmental Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Consumer Product Safety Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission from next year's budget.

Stockman's Office of Management and Budget (OMB) wants to cut \$7.8 billion from the \$20 billion Congress slated for the first five years of synfuel development and to review the other \$68 billion authorized for the project. Reagan administration officials also reportedly want corporate sponsorship of the project to increase from 25 to 40 percent of total expenditures.

"The basic rationale is to support a limited number of first-of-a-kind operating plants to demonstrate technical, economic and environmental problems and costs," reads OMB's statement on proposed cuts.

But Democratic leaders claim Stockman's synfuel cuts reflect "a false sense of economy." In a letter to Reagan, Rep. Wright, Speaker Tip O'Neill and dozens of other House members declared such cutting would make it seem "that we were not really serious about making America energy independent."

Testifying before the Moffett subcommittee, Richard A. Flinn, a vice president of SRC International—a joint venture of Gulf Oil Corp., Ruhrkohle A.G. of Germany and Mitsui SRC Development Co. of Japan—wrapped the synfuel project in a similar patriotic cloak, calling the project "strategically and economically important to the countries involved." He stressed the need for government subsidies, allowing that "this is just not the sort of thing that private enterprise could do alone."

Costly and dangerous.

The Moffett subcommittee, however, questions whether private industry has performed even the preliminary stages of synfuel development without indulging in what the subcommittee's ranking Republican, Rep. Joel Deckard of Indiana, terms "pork barrel politics." Through internal documents, consultant reports and federal studies, the subcommittee laid out SRC International practices that have led Gulf to design the Morgantown demonstration plant four times larger than necessary, allowed the Ft. Lewis, Wash., pilot plant to operate in relative disregard for environmental safety and pushed the SRC II project at least 15 months and \$745 million over budget.

Studies by the National Academy of Science and Gulf's own consultants have concluded that the federally subsidized Morgantown demonstration plant could be built to produce 250 to 1,500 rather than the planned 6,000 tons per day of liquid fuel from high-sulfur coal. (SRC International later announced that the Morgantown plant might be redesigned to produce 3,000 tons per day.)

But at the SRC International Ft. Lewis pilot project, designed to produce only 50 tons per day, environmental problems are already significant. SRC International officials admit a 2,300 gallon spill of coal tar middle distillate, an extremely hazardous waste, occurred at Ft. Lewis on Dec. 19, 1979, and went unreported for almost three weeks. Until the subcommittee hearing, they contended this was the "only" spill of any size at the pilot plant.

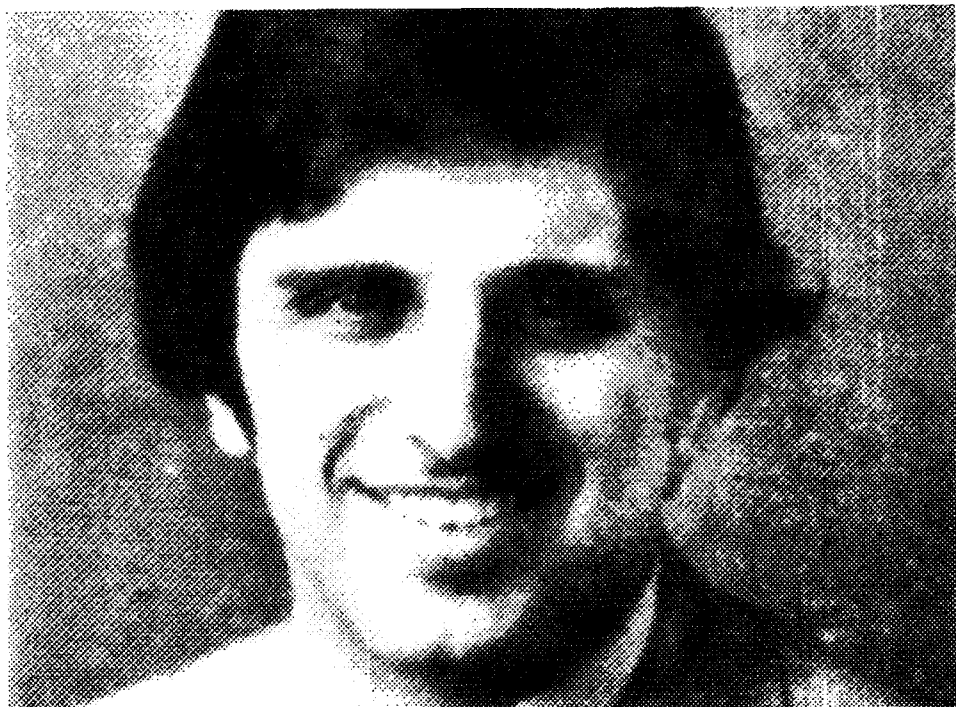
Moffett produced internal documents revealing a previous 75-foot-wide spill of naphtha, a solvent with cancer-inducing components, and ordering workers to clean up and spread gravel on "oil spills, etc." because "Environmental Agency" officials were soon to inspect the facility.

Subcommittee staffers hope that further hearings will look into the environmental and health problems of synfuel development. They point to the case of Lillian Reese, a laboratory technician

not be completed until December 1985, and that the eventual price of the SRC II demonstration will be at least \$1.4 billion—well over the \$685 million originally budgeted for this project.

It was also revealed that Gulf Oil Corporation's \$100 million contribution to the \$1.4 billion SRC II project "consists of little actual cash," some technical information, some West Virginia real estate and the services of at most 250 workers—including public relations people "to educate local people about synthetic fuels." SRC International's Flinn called the \$100 million figure an "appropriate" contribution from the multi-billion dollar corporation.

Joyce Goldstein was one of the "local" Morgantown people present at the subcommittee hearing. But Goldstein, a member of the Monongahela Alliance for Community Protection, the citizen group that opposed the synfuel project long before Stockman, is only mildly reassured



The cost overruns and environmental problems exposed by Rep. Toby Moffett's committee hearings have put him at odds with the Democratic leadership.

and 43-year-old widow who was denied employment at Ft. Lewis because company policy forbids hiring fertile women from working around coal tars. (Reese and the American Civil Liberties Union have filed a discrimination complaint against Gulf.)

Sources within the Ft. Lewis plant confirm that the subcommittee is "just scratching the surface" of health and safety problems.

"We thought we were involved in solving a serious national problem here," said one Ft. Lewis worker. "Most of us now realize we are only waiting to get cancer."

Other evidence presented by Moffett suggests the Morgantown facility could

by her new allies. While Moffett wants more spending on conservation and alternative energy sources, Reagan-Stockman are still stressing the need for highly centralized sources like synfuels and nuclear power—the administration's proposed synfuel cuts will not be balanced by alternative energy projects.

"It's fortuitous that the Stockman-Reagan plan is critical of synfuels," said Goldstein. But, she quickly added, "it's a little too opportunistic to pat Reagan on the back over this when they're out there cutting food stamps."

Jim Lewis edits *Exposure*, the toxics newsletter published by Environmental Action. Robert Rosner is an investigative reporter who assisted in the Moffett hearings.

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The Insiders

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IN THE WORLD

EL SALVADOR

Opposition has its own resources

By David Helvarg

SAN DIEGO

IT TAKES MORE THAN GROSS social inequities and widespread outrage to support a successful revolutionary effort. As the Salvadoran rebels have well understood from the experience of Nicaragua, popular opposition only becomes effective insurgency with a unified political leadership, international support and the financial-logistical systems to sustain a military effort.

The guerrilla forces in El Salvador were late in forming a unified command structure. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) was not established until November of 1980 due to factionalism and disagreements over strategy. Yet despite recent U.S. efforts to portray the Salvadoran insurgents as a few thousand Cuban-trained terrorists, the FMLN does at this time have the backing of most segments of Salvadoran society. The guerrilla groups that have joined forces in the FMLN—and that make up the active fighting force—work closely with the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), an above-ground coalition that includes union, church, student and professional organizations and all the country's moderate political parties except the Christian Democrats.

It is the FDR that has been most instrumental in building international support for the rebels. Its ability to diplomatically isolate the military-Christian Democratic junta can largely be attributed to the work of El Salvador's Social Democratic Party and a dissident faction of the Christian Democrats, who have traveled to the UN, the OAS and various Latin and European capitals to document acts of oppression by Salvadoran security forces and line up support for a future Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The leader of this effort, until his mutilation and murder along with six other FDR leaders in December, was Enrique Alvarez, a self-styled "drop-out" from the country's ruling oligarchy and former Minister of Agriculture under the first "reform junta" of October 1980. Taking his place today is Guillermo Ungo, a Social Democrat who, ironically, was Jose Napoleon Duarte's running mate in the 1972 elections.

Despite the presence of Duarte and the Christian Democrats in the rightist-controlled government, the junta has lost the support of most of the world's Christian Democratic governments (with the exception of Venezuela) along with the support of most other Latin and Western European governments.

The junta blames the international press corps for the EDR's diplomatic successes and has tried to limit journalists' access and mobility inside the country. For its part, the Reagan State Department has launched a diplomatic "counteroffensive," circulating "captured documents" to foreign governments to prove the insurgents in El Salvador are armed and supplied by Soviet bloc nations using Cuba and Nicaragua as conduits.

In fact, the Salvadoran rebels have plenty of money of their own. During the '70s, the FPL and the FARN—two guerrilla groups that have now joined forces in the FMLN—collected more than \$70 million from kidnappings of oligarchs and foreign businessmen. Even when you subtract \$10 million for kick-backs thought to have been paid to corrupt Salvadoran army officers who were never able to "solve" any of the kidnappings

and another \$10 million said to have gone to finance half the cost of the Sandinistas' "final offensive" in Nicaragua, they're still left with a war-chest of over \$50 million—enough to pay the going rate for weapons on the black market.

Panama is well known as the regional center of that market (which is controlled by organized crime). U.S., Belgian, German and Israeli light arms, machine guns, mortars and Chinese-manufactured RPG rocket launchers can all be purchased there. Panama was the key link for transshipment of arms to the Nicaraguan revolutionaries and interviews with an arms runner and with a former U.S. military intelligence agent who worked out of Panama have confirmed that Panama remains a center of the Central American arms traffic, with Honduras acting as a transshipment point for Salvador. Interestingly, the junta in El Salvador has accused Panama—as well as Cuba—of aiding the rebels. Only with the recent diplomatic offensive out of Washington has the junta begun to parrot accusations of extensive Soviet, East German, Vietnamese and Ethiopian intervention in the arming of El Salvador's rebels.

A top ERP leader in Morazan province recently told a reporter that an offer of direct Soviet arms supplies had been rejected "because too many strings were attached." And Schafik Jorge Handal, whose alleged correspondence with Soviet-bloc suppliers was published in the *New York Times*, has "categorically denied" the authenticity of the "captured documents."

Though they may seek to secure arms wherever possible, the main question for the FMLN at this point is not one of weapons but of initiative. While having at least the passive support of a large majority of the rural population, the 10,000 regulars of the FMLN are not likely to spark a popular insurrection such as occurred in Nicaragua until they can con-



vince the people that they have a good chance of winning.

Between memories of the massacres of 1932 and the institutionalized terror now being practiced in government-controlled areas, the people, loosely organized into poorly armed militias and defense organizations, are not willing to take further risks until, in the words of one local leftist, "we can create our own National Palace"—a reference to the August 1978 Sandinista takeover of the National Palace in Nicaragua that sparked popular uprisings in five cities.

The Salvadoran version of "the palace" is not likely to be a single action in an urban center like San Salvador; it will more likely involve a slow process of consolidation ("prolonged popular war") in the rugged northern mountains where the guerrillas and the security forces are presently slugging it out. If the

guerrillas can consolidate their hold, gradually bleeding the 20,000-strong government troops, and take control of the Departments of Chalatenango, Cabanas and Morazan, then they will be in a position to move in force into Cuscatlan—a major center of fighting during the January offensive—bringing their regulars within several miles of the capital. At that point they could bring members of the FDR into the north and declare a provisional government.

On the other hand, increased U.S. military and technical aid to the junta, and the threat of Guatemalan and/or Honduran military intervention, could just as easily regionalize the war. In that case, the area would begin to take on the actual dimensions of another Vietnam. ■ David Helvarg, who covers Central America for *In These Times*, returned from El Salvador in November.

Shocking revelations of foreign arms!

CUBA HAS WARNED THAT IT intends to use whatever means are necessary to shut off the flow of foreign arms to the rightist military regime in El Salvador, informed sources told *In These Times*.

The Havana administration, charging "capitalist interference in El Salvador," is making use of numerous captured documents, including the *New York Times* and *Brassey's Annual Armed Forces Year Book*, to make its case that the U.S. and Israel are "the immediate source of the problem of outside support for Salvadoran oppression."

"Some 20,000 uniformed terrorists armed and trained by outside capitalist forces threaten the stability and future not only of El Salvador but of the entire region," a foreign ministry spokesman in Havana stated. "We cannot sit idly by and watch another Latin nation be subjected to externally sponsored subversion and terrorism including the murder of American nuns, peasants and human rights activists."

Copies of documents made available to *In These Times* show that thousands of German-produced H&K G-3 assault rifles, Israeli-manufactured Uzi sub-machineguns, French-built Alouette and Lama helicopters and armored cars and Israeli-supplied Ariva, Fuga and Orgeone aircraft have been arriving in the

country over the past several years.

In addition, the United States provided \$5.7 million-worth of "non-lethal" arms in 1980, including flak jackets, light trucks and communications gear. More recently an additional \$15 million worth of "lethal" hardware has begun arriving in the form of Huey UH-1H helicopters, M-16 rifles, M-79 grenade launchers and ammunition.

It is this latest "pipeline" of hundreds of tons of military supplies that most upsets Havana and suggests that the conflict has gone beyond a simple struggle between the Salvadoran people and their government. "It is now clear that the United States is carrying out a systematic, well-financed, sophisticated effort to impose a fascist regime in Central America. Cuba can not stand idly by and allow this latest threat to southern civilization to go unpunished," explained the Cuban spokesman.

The Cubans also claim that the Salvadoran uniformed terrorists are receiving training outside the country at the U.S. Jungle Warfare School of the Americas in Panama and at Columbia's Ranger School. In addition, as many as 50 uniformed U.S. and Venezuelan cadre are said to be working with the rightists inside the country.

"I don't see how these uniformed terrorists can in any way claim to represent the people of El Salvador when they are

so obviously dependent on outside aid to carry on their struggle," said the Cuban spokesman.

It is a point the Salvadoran rightists strongly dispute. "Disgracefully, arms have become big business. Unfortunately we need arms in order to pacify the people," Christian Democratic junta member Morales Ehrlich told this reporter on a recent trip behind government lines. "Everyone tries to help everyone," a major in the "Army of El Salvador" told me at one of their base camps located inside a heavily sandbagged fort across the street from the presidential palace. "Our basic training manuals, for instance, we get from Chile. They originally got them from Germany." A look at one of the manuals revealed a publication date of 1937. Despite the use of Nazi Whermacht training manuals and widespread terror, spokesmen for the government deny they are politically fascist. "We're centrists," they claim. "We just want peace for the people."

Cuba has not said what it will do if the U.S. continues to provide arms and support to the Salvadoran junta, but the possibility of a naval blockade of Florida, or even additional landings of Cuban refugees, has not been ruled out. ■

David Helvarg was inspired by the tone and content of recent U.S. press reports to imagine what the arms supply issue looks like from the other side.

SOUTH AFRICA

Militants have the edge in a three-sided strategy debate

By James North

JOHANNESBURG

THERE ARE TWO SEPARATE political debates currently taking place in South Africa. One, among the whites, is highly visible and audible. It is being conducted openly in the press, in the segregated bars, in white homes. It concerns the elections that Prime Minister P.W. Botha has called for April 29.

It is not a particularly spirited debate, as the results are a foregone conclusion. The ruling National Party will retain an overwhelming majority in the all-white assembly. The only questions are whether the small, moderate opposition will increase its representation slightly and whether the far right will enter parliament for the first time.

The other debate, among blacks, is subterranean. It does not appear in the press. Its protagonists carry on guarded conversations on overcrowded buses and trains, in *shebeens*—the semi-legal drinking places in the shabby black townships—and increasingly in factories and other workplaces.

Discussion in the black community is not about whether apartheid should be destroyed—a handful of collaborators aside, there is no disagreement there. Nor is there much doubt that the process will involve violence (though there is controversy about the appropriate time). Rather, the debate is about what kind of appeal should be used to mobilize the anti-apartheid forces, what strategy should be followed and which organization or movement is best equipped to lead the fight.

It is essentially a three-sided debate between the African National Congress (ANC), the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's *Inkatha* movement, though mixed loyalties blur distinctions between the groups. Buthelezi claims that he is the legal stand-in for the outlawed ANC, while many BCM followers insist that they are not opposed to the ANC as such, merely to certain of its approaches and a section of its leadership.

Both *Inkatha* and Black Consciousness can function openly in South Africa, though BCM leaders have been harassed, imprisoned and—in the case of Steve Biko and others—murdered. The ANC has operated underground and in exile since it was banned in 1960.

After the ANC and a breakaway organization, the Pan Africanist Congress, were banned, they both turned to violence. The regime annihilated both efforts, and South Africa entered a period of sullen calm. In the late 1960s, Black Consciousness started to fill the political vacuum. Biko and other BCM leaders paid equal respects to both of the older movements, but they clearly had inherited more of the PAC black nationalist stance than the ANC's emphasis on multi-racial cooperation and its advocacy of some form of socialism.

The difference between the two older organizations was always a question of emphasis rather than a razor-sharp distinction. The ANC appeal certainly contained a strong nationalist component. The PAC was not adverse to some degree of state involvement in the economy; it also never argued whites should be pushed into the sea, but said "Africans"—the BCM widened the constituency to include Indians and "Coloreds" (people of mixed descent)—had to organize themselves and take back their country.

The BCM made headway in the urban areas, and its influence was clearly present in the 1976 Soweto uprising. Then, in 1977, the regime banned many BCM organizations and leaders during the unrest following Biko's murder. Some of the

groups later re-formed under new names, but the ANC had started to offer them stiff competition.

The ANC had established itself in exile, but its guerrillas were unable to penetrate the ring of white minority regimes that surrounded South Africa. Then, Mozambique and Angola became independent, and the organization started striking into the homeland, most spectacularly in the raid at the Sasol oil-from-coal refinery last June.

The guerrillas were primarily recruited from among the several thousand former students who had been forced to flee after the 1976 upheaval. The refugees found the ANC intact and united, while the PAC had been torn apart by poor leadership and bitter infighting. If they wanted to fight, they had one place to go.

Some BCM supporters said the raids were premature and jeopardized their efforts at legal work inside. Nonetheless, the ANC's internal popularity skyrocketed. The young were electrified by its daring; older people remembered its patient, 50-year nonviolent campaign for liberation and respected its leaders—Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others—who have been in prison for up to 16 years. Meanwhile, BCM organizations, hampered by regular harassment, have continued to limp along with diminishing effect.

A new labor militance.

The BCM has also been put on the defensive by last year's rise in working-class militancy. Preliminary figures indicate that 110 strikes involving 50,000 workers took place during 1980, making it the biggest upheaval in labor since 1973.

There are four or five major groupings of black unions, only one of which is even loosely aligned with the BCM. Naturally, none of the others can identify

Young blacks are electrified by the ANC's daring raids, while their parents respect its 50 years of nonviolence.

themselves with the ANC, but most of them are to varying degrees heirs to the organization's own union federation, SACTU, which functioned openly until the early 1960s.

In the past, the BCM successfully appealed to students, church leaders, cultural figures and some professional and clerical workers on the basis of "blackness," but it has not yet been able significantly to break out of the "middle-class." One leader who could have led Black Consciousness toward the working class, Thozamile Botha, is no longer in the country. Botha coordinated the strike wave in Port Elizabeth, a southern industrial city, in late 1979; the regime banned him; and he fled to exile—where he joined the ANC. Even though at present only about 3 percent of the black labor force belongs to unions, the rest seem unlikely to respond to BCM appeals based primarily on racial and cultural pride. Unless Black Consciousness can speak directly to the needs of workers, the union movement will pass it by.

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi, once a respected ANC member, had entered the regime's Bantustan structure and become the leader of Kwa-Zulu, the area in which 5.2 million Zulu people are supposed to

exercise their sovereignty. In the other nine Bantustans, none of the "leaders" has been able to shake his reputation as Pretoria's puppet, but the shrewd Buthelezi has kept his balance on the regime's platform and simultaneously projected an image of militance. His *Inkatha* movement, which claims 300,000 members, is strongest in his home area, but it does have support elsewhere.

The BCM has long attacked Buthelezi as a "stooge" and a "reactionary element," and he has responded with equal acidity. The ANC, on the other hand, made some attempts to work with him, but friction seems to be growing. The organization is particularly irritated with his position favoring continued overseas investment.

On the grass-roots level, people will often support both Black Consciousness and the ANC; others will insist that *Inkatha* is not in contradiction to the underground organization. The vagueness is partly a consequence of ignorance. The popular understanding of the ANC in particular is incomplete due to censorship, which the regime tightened once again in January by outlawing the Johannesburg-based *Post* and *Sunday Post*. The two papers, though white-owned, had the largest black readership in the country.

Even many people who do understand the differences among the three movements are reluctant to choose at this early stage. They realize the struggle against apartheid will be long and arduous and quite understandably they will await events. Others, ANC sympathizers working underground in mass organizations, will naturally keep their preferences a guarded secret.

The Maputo raid.

Nonetheless, there are visible signs that the swing toward the ANC is continuing. Black reaction was wary but bitter in the aftermath of the regime's military raid into the outskirts of Maputo, Mozambique, during which it killed 12 ANC men, losing two of its own. Memorial services were scheduled inside South Africa (the regime banned them), and sympathy for the movement grew. Ominously, the U.S. reaction to the raid was muted; Reagan's officials have already started to tilt American policy. And the response from the white Progressive Federal Party, the favorite of Westerners who hope for "evolution" in South Africa, was revealing: the Party endorsed the raid without qualification and without even muttering some of its favorite platitudes about "negotiating while time remains." The PFP—which does not, contrary to a widely-held view in the West, support majority rule, but rather espouses some vague sort of "power-sharing"—has 18 out of 164 seats in the current parliament. At best, in April, it will pick up a few more, still leaving it far from the levers of political power.

Of greater interest in the upcoming election will be the showing of the *Herstigte* (Reconstituted) National Party, a far-right grouping that emerged in the late 1960s but has yet to win a parliamentary seat. Prime Minister Botha worries more about the HNP than the Progressives and one reason he ordered the raid on Maputo was to show toughness and limit the erosion to his right.

Botha is being forced to adjust some aspects of apartheid in order to take account of economic changes within South Africa, to try and create a buffer black "middle-class" or "labor aristocracy," and to reduce international criticism. Some whites, workers in particular, are threatened by the changes, and they have given the HNP steadily higher vote totals in some recent by-elections. This could be the year the far-rightists break through.

The right-wing backlash is probably

the major reason Botha continues to stall on the negotiations over Namibia, the territory South Africa is illegally occupying. Pretoria and its puppets, the so-called "internal parties," deliberately wrecked the UN-sponsored Geneva conference in early January, arguing lamely that the international organization is biased in favor of SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement, and therefore incapable of impartially supervising elections.

The prognosis now is for more delay, at least until the Reagan administration's policy becomes clear. (After all, certain State Department officials have to learn how to find Namibia on a map.) Botha is thus spared for now the domestic consequences of appearing to hand the territory over to SWAPO "terrorists." ■ James North will travel to Zimbabwe in March to report on the first year of independence.



Housing

Continued from page 5

Blackburn. Gholson admits that barely one qualified Section 8 renter in five can locate a suitable apartment in the city. His agency requested a rent ceiling 20 percent higher than HUD guidelines permit to make the hunt a bit easier, but most families he sends out still return with their vouchers unused.

Yet despite the virtual absence of low-cost housing in the city, San Francisco has only 2,160 Section 8 units allocated to it by HUD. The 580 slots advertised in February were the first new openings in three years.

Topping off the long list of problems with the Section 8 program is the attitude of the people who administer it. After the crowd scene at the Housing Authority, Gholson said, "Anytime you offer anything for free—whether it be housing or watermelons—you'll get a line."

Nevertheless, Section 8 rent subsidies are all that stand between adequate housing and eviction for many poor families. The program may be inadequate and ill-conceived, but Reagan proposes nothing but the market to take its place. "What happened at the Housing Authority was a sign of the times," says Lisi Lord of the San Francisco Tenants Union. "Reagan's plan is simply to let the poor shift for themselves."

"The new administration is saying if you can't afford housing or find a job, move someplace where you can," adds Jess Gonzalez, local housing supervisor for the Urban League. Gonzalez runs a counselling service for people desperate for housing. His office keeps no rental listings, but offers general information on neighborhoods where newcomers or the temporarily homeless might get lucky.

"We try to give people moral support," he says, "but now I end up suggesting they move on to other cities. The alternative is waiting two to three years for the Housing Authority to take names again."

"Housing is a vital necessity—as important as eating. But it's clearly not viewed that way by President Reagan." ■ *Thomas Brom, the economics and labor editor for Pacific News Service, edited "The Public Works" for Community Economics, Inc., in Oakland, and has written widely on housing issues.*

Taxes

Continued from page 5

conservative black Democrat who serves as council president. "You scratch our backs and we'll scratch yours. You want the tax—give us the goodies."

The mayor delivered the "goodies" and the council scheduled the vote. "It's not really a hard job to satisfy council members," Forbes observed. "Their de-

sires are small. They just ask for a few bucks."

Voinovich, determined to crush any opposition, launched a heavy-handed campaign with a single, simple message: pass the tax or I'll sock you with severe service cutbacks. He took fire trucks out of service, closed recreation centers and threatened to impose a \$8 to \$10 monthly garbage pickup fee if the tax hike was defeated. At one school he told children that if their parents had a heart attack in Cleveland, they would have only a 5 percent chance of living; while if they lived in a nearby suburb, their chances would rise to 60 percent because of better EMS services. The kids went home terrified.

Voinovich's main strategy seemed to be to convince the poor, elderly and unemployed voters that they should approve the tax because the money would come not from them, but from wage-earners. He traveled the city telling seniors that their lives would be jeopardized without the tax and telling the poor that passage meant more jobs.

The media make policy.

The local media faithfully transmitted the message. For 16 consecutive days toward the end of the campaign, the *Plain Dealer* ran front-page stories about how police and fire protection was crumbling and other services were on the verge of collapse. "We have a rather unique development in urban politics," commented Kucinich, "where the media concocted a contrived consensus of distorted, alleged facts and double-think analysis that resulted in a false economic and political reality presented to the people. The outcome was like a media-imposed tax."

Opponents argued that the revenues from the first tax hike were sufficient and vainly struggled to get their message across. When Westbrook presented the *Plain Dealer* with a detailed alternative program for budget cuts, the paper refused to print it. Opponents distributed about 75,000 leaflets in some 10 (of 33) wards and received a fairly positive response. They relied on money from their own pockets and a \$5,000 contribution from the United Auto Workers, the only major institution to oppose the measure. The pro-tax position was supported by some 100 organizations, including both newspapers, a coalition of 26 minority organizations, the AFL-CIO Federation of Labor and several congressional representatives. Polls showed that the number of people approving the tax actually decreased in the course of the campaign, but those voters wearied by the cutback threats and confused by the intricacies of

municipal finance, stayed home and watched the measure easily pass.

Divide and tax.

Voinovich hailed Cleveland as "the city of the '80s" because of the tax passage, but his critics see more ominous implications. Only one-fifth of the city's registered voters approved the tax. The community is now more than ever divided between lower-income wage-earners and people on fixed incomes. (The measure lost in nine predominantly white working-class wards.) "Business is simply not willing to pay any more property taxes and they're looking to shove the burden onto wage-earners," says Westbrook. "Voinovich has created a situation where people who can't afford it are saddled with an extra tax, while those who supported it are holding very high expectations that never get fulfilled."

Signs of hostility, resentment and increased tensions already are evident. Voinovich won the support of influential black leaders like Rep. Louis Stokes by promising more city hall jobs for their constituents. Three days after the vote, the city announced that it was taking 200 applications for job openings as laborers. Starting at 3:00 a.m., some 700 unemployed, mostly minorities, gathered at City Hall waiting for the doors to open. When they did, the crush of job-seekers broke the doors and required police, armed with billy clubs and backed up by a paddy wagon, to keep order. There was a "near riot," reported one TV station, before almost 500 applications were distributed. Both the *Plain Dealer* and the *Press* blacked out the incident.

Welfare rolls are growing rapidly, not only in the inner-city, but also in nearby industrial suburbs hit by plant closings. Violent crime is up 17 percent from a year earlier. As the police chief commented: "When society cannot provide the jobs, the jobless turn to crime." In mid-February, some 200 young people went on a 45-minute "rampage" of looting and vandalism after they emerged early one morning from downtown discos and bars. "They all looked high and looked bombed out," a store owner commented. "One kid walked by and laughed as I was boarding up the store. He said, 'This is only the beginning.'" ■ *Dan Marschall, former research coordinator for the Cleveland Division of Economic Development, is the editor of The Battle of Cleveland: Public Interest Challenges Corporate Power (1979, Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies).*

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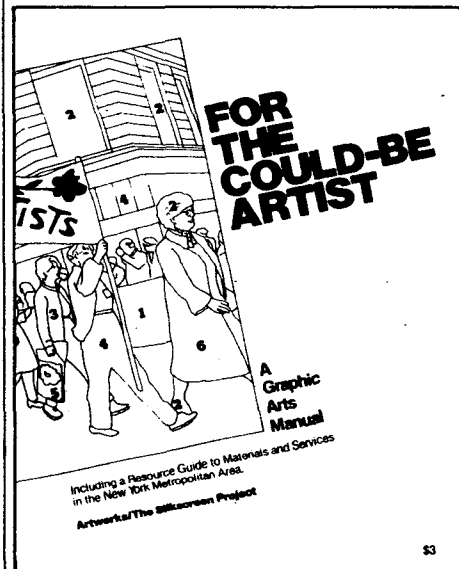
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EUROPE

Will the arms race forge a "Euroleft"?

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

DON'T LOOK NOW, BUT social democrats from Germany and Britain are talking things over with Communists from Italy and Spain. It's still too early to announce the birth of a functioning "Euroleft," but the meeting in Madrid Feb. 14 to 16 on "security, cooperation and human rights" attended by socialists or social democrats from most Western European countries, Italian and Spanish Communists and several prominent independent left figures was the most important step so far in that direction. (The French Communists stayed away, and Portugal was represented only by former foreign minister Ernesto Melo Antunes, a leading moderate of the revolutionary Armed Forces Movement.)

Feeling under the gun of the arms race has certainly accelerated probes of this sort. Achieving understanding, much less coordination, promises to be a long, hard process. The very terms of political discussion differ drastically from one European country to the next, and even when supposedly related by common ideology, left parties have remarkably little awareness of the political life of their neighbors. It may be an encouraging sign that the various lines of reasoning that emerged at the Madrid meeting did not conform at all strictly to national or supposedly ideological boundaries.

The dominant, relatively conservative approach was expressed by Karsten Voigt, a former young socialist (Juso) leader who is now foreign policy spokesman for the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) group in the Bundestag. In the name of realism, Voigt argued for staying in NATO and working to make the alliance more of an equal partnership. He also stressed the need to realize that security was a problem for both sides, requiring confidence-building steps and mutual consultation rather than unilateral moves certain to arouse distrust.

Considering that it was unrealistic in the current context of tension to demand arms reductions, Voigt said the objective should be stabilization to prevent a race to achieve arms superiority that could be fatal. Voigt's realism reflected the concerns of a party that came to power in a



Italian Socialist Claudio Signorile (left) warned against Italy's becoming the U.S. favorite in Europe. But his party's leader, Bettino Craxi (right), may have other ideas.

period of detente and economic growth, and today fears that the changed context of East-West conflict and economic stagnation create perils for the world requiring utmost unity of left forces. This approach was largely shared by Belgian Dutch and the Scandinavian social democrats present, as well as by the Italian Communist Party (PCI).

PCI foreign policy spokesman Giancarlo Pajetta was warmly applauded when he raised the hope that the parties represented at the gathering might succeed in reuniting the two spirits of European socialism in the face of the danger of a new war. Socialists and Communists have a half century of experience in the harmful effects of division, Pajetta said.

Italian journalist and member of parliament Luciana Castellina criticized Pajetta for not going far enough in rejecting the system of military blocs. Castellina, Melo Antunes and Spanish Com-

munist spokesman Manuel Azcarate expressed a second, more nonaligned viewpoint, condemning the current hegemony of two equally aggressive and expansionist superpowers. To escape from this system, Europe must offer an alternative to the Third World, so that liberation movements do not have to turn to "Soviet imperialism" for aid in their struggles against "renewed American imperialism."

Azcarate added that he opposed Spanish entrance into NATO in order to avoid turning Spain into an "American aircraft carrier" for aggressive operations against the Third World, especially Africa.

A third position was the call by British Labourites Stuart Holland and Ken Coates for a campaign for unilateral disarmament. This seemed utopian to most of the continental Europeans, more used to thinking in terms of government responsibility and diplomacy. But the British argued that unilateral disarmament

was the only way to get out of the bind of formal diplomacy and appeal directly to the public conscience. Azcarate, at least, seemed to see their point.

Italian Socialist Claudio Signorile said the return to bipolarism would be partly the fault of Europeans, and stressed that "Italy should not become the Bulgaria of the Atlantic Pact"—that is, the most zealous servant of the dominant superpower. This sounded like a crack at his party's leader, Bettino Craxi, who tends to stay away from such compromising gatherings now that he is a leading contender to be Uncle Sam's man in Rome.

The Madrid meeting got little press coverage, and many obstacles remain to building a political force with a truly European consciousness. But those who took part in the debate at least shared a sense of urgency in the face of a U.S.-imposed arms race that implies right-wing, militaristic governments ruling Europe. ■

Haig line has special meaning for Italy

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

WHEN ALEXANDER HAIG, at his Jan. 28 press conference, accused the Soviet Union of "training, funding and equipping international terrorism," most people took this as a reference to Third World liberation movements. But in Italy it struck a second and even more sensitive chord, coming right in the middle of a raging controversy over alleged Soviet support to the Red Brigades. There seemed to be some sort of coordination between Haig's new campaign against "Soviet-backed international terrorism" and accusations blaming the USSR for terrorism in Italy launched recently by the Socialist Party (PSI), whose leader Bettino Craxi seems intent on being "anointed" in Washington, just as Christian Democratic leader Alcide de Gasperi was "anointed" some 35 years ago. The Italian press has been filled with speculation as to whether Craxi is indeed the favorite of the Reagan administration, or whether he is just trying to make himself important by giving that impression.

The shock waves from the changes in Washington are arriving in Europe slowly and are still hard to measure. There is a flux in political debate and alignment that is still unclear. One of the most interesting contributions to this debate was a Feb. 1 editorial in LA REPUBBLICA by Eugenio Scalfari, the newspaper's director and an important figure in Italy's independent left. Here are excerpts:

“In America, people are discussing an extremely serious question: which shall prevail, democracy or imperial democracy. It's an old controversy. The image of democracy, without adjectives, applied to the world's foremost democratic nation, could not bear the war in Vietnam, its massacres and moral—beyond the material—devastation. If the United States wants to continue to be the foremost democratic power in the world, it cannot support military juntas that massacre populations. If, on the contrary, it supports them, it has only itself to blame when the liberation movements seek alliance with the Cubans or the Soviets.

The argument changes once America decides to project an image, not of democracy without adjectives, but of an imperial democracy. In that case, the new Reagan administration is saying and

promising just what it should. But in that case, there is an obvious change in the position of America's democratic allies, and in particular, its European allies.

We chose America back in 1945 as leader of a group of democratic countries inspired by democratic ideals. Should we be called upon to choose an imperial system identical in its logic to any other imperial system, the decision might be different. As Schmidt rightly said, "We would be seriously perplexed."

In Italy for the past several days people have been discussing the foreign sanctuaries of terrorism. On one side are those who want the government to say that the "sanctuary of sanctuaries" is the Soviet Union. On the other are those who think it would be rash, not to say useless or harmful, to make such a statement unsupported by evidence.

If there is no proof, Moscow might be the one to break diplomatic relations in case of such a rash and hostile declaration. The political and economic damage is easy to imagine. But the real question is this: why are certain political forces urging us to take such a step?

An answer has been given by Haig. It's up to America's allies, said Haig, to

agree that the West must at all costs reconquer military superiority. And Socialist Party member Claudio Martelli, just back from Washington: "The United States from now on considers the Socialist Party the force to bet on in Italy."

We would be happy to see the world's foremost democracy finally realize, 30 years late, that a progressive democratic force should be encouraged in an allied country. But we would be less happy to see the Italian Socialist Party become the right arm in Italy of an imperial system. That, among other pernicious effects, would pervert the nature of the Socialist Party, because a socialist party which becomes the right arm of an imperial system no longer has any reason to call itself socialist.

In fact, alongside the American party, we are seeing the birth of a European party. And that difference will become sharper the clearer becomes Haig's prediction that NATO can no longer be conceived as a limited alliance, but rather must extend its action to all the world's trouble spots.

We have waited a long time for the Italian Communist Party to cut itself loose from the Eastern empire. Just as this finally happens, we don't want to see the Socialist party attach itself to the Western empire. Instead, we want both of them to attach themselves firmly to democratic Europe. ”

Ten years after it first opened its doors on April 28, 1971, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) is facing its biggest political challenge. While most attention has focused on the costs of health and safety regulations to business, little has been said about the changes that OSHA has brought to American workplaces—or how workers have used the laws to improve their working life. This is the first of three articles in which *In These Times* correspondent Robert Howard profiles two local unions that are successfully taking the initiative on health and safety issues and looks into what the Reagan administration's plans for health and safety regulations will mean for them and for other American workers.

By Robert Howard

LYNN, MASS.



In the 40 years that Jack Handren has worked for General Electric in the mammoth complex of GE plants located in Lynn, Mass., and surrounding towns of the North Shore, the smell of noxious fumes on the job has been an everyday occurrence.

So Handren didn't think too much of it when he noticed the acrid odor of methylene chloride in the tool room of the GE aircraft instrument plant in Wilmington, Mass., on the morning of July 16, 1979.

But when the head of plant security came rushing up to him, demanding that he get his crew together, Handren—who is both a union shop steward and deputy chief of the plant emergency crew—knew that this time something was seriously wrong.

What Handren discovered when he reached the plant's vapor degreaser tank at the other end of the building was a large pool of methylene chloride about 25 feet in diameter seeping out of the back of the tank and slowly spreading under partitions and around machines. Used to clean grease off parts and equipment, methylene chloride is a highly volatile industrial solvent that, when inhaled in large quantities, turns to carbon monoxide in the blood, causing headaches and dizziness. According to General Electric's own "Material Safety Data Sheet" for the chemical, high concentrations of methylene chloride can cause "loss of coordination and equilibrium and, if exposure is prolonged excessively, unconsciousness and even death."

At the site of the accident, recalls Handren, "the smell was overpowering." Most of the workers on the floor had already left the plant; a few men were trying to contain the spill by ripping open 50-pound bags of absorbent "speedi-dry" and hastily fabricating make-shift dams.

Handren tried to round up his emergency crew, but because there was no established procedure for assembling his men "short of setting off the fire alarm," it took him nearly half an hour to bring them together. Clean-up operations were further hampered by the absence of readily accessible equipment and tools. "We had nothing," says Handren, "no respirators, no shovels, even, or brooms. Nothing."

Once his crew was at work, Handren made sure the fire doors were open to provide badly needed ventilation to the windowless building. He sent crew members outside for fresh air "whenever anyone looked like they were getting woozy." Nearly two hours and 300 pounds of speedi-dry later, the approximately 50 gallons of methylene chloride were soaked up, shovelled into carts, and hauled away. Wilmington workers, none of whom were seriously injured in the accident, began to return to their machines in the plant.

■ Not just another spill ■

As industrial accidents go, the methylene chloride spill at Wilmington was fairly typical. Poor maintenance and lack of training contributed to a highly dangerous situation that could have been

easily prevented. Three days after the accident, an inspector from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) visited the plant and cited General Electric for four "serious" violations of agency regulations—failure to maintain the degreaser properly, to locate eyewash and shower facilities near the tank, to train workers in the potential dangers of methylene chloride and to establish clear-cut emergency procedures as well as provide the emergency crew with respirators and other essential equipment. Fines for the violations totalled \$2,240.

Predictably, General Electric contested the violations, which automatically sent them to the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission (which operates independent of OSHA)—where Wilmington workers could expect them to languish for years.

But, unlike the accident itself, the aftermath of the chemical spill has turned into a unique victory for Wilmington workers. Because of recent OSHA policies encouraging worker and union participation in the regulatory process—and an active and knowledgeable local union health and safety committee—Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) was able to bypass the cumbersome and bureaucratic Review Commission procedure and negotiate a settlement directly with GE. This resulted in dramatic shop-floor changes at the Wilmington plant a brief seven months after the degreaser spill. According to Richard Youngstrom, an industrial hygienist on the staff of the union's health and safety committee, "We achieved a settlement beyond our wildest expectations."

The story of the methylene chloride spill at Wilmington is a model for how unions can mobilize their members to take the initiative on workplace health and safety. At a time when OSHA in particular and occupational safety and health in general are under increasingly strident attack from the right, such rank-and-file activism is more necessary than ever. For it is as much in plants like Wilmington as in the corridors of government in Washington that the approaching battle over the future of worker health and safety will be fought.

■ The new direction at OSHA ■

Many elements contributed to making the methylene chloride spill at Wilmington a special case. An important one was a 1978 program directive by then-OSHA director Eula Bingham, ordering agency field personnel to encourage worker and union participation whenever possible in informal hearings and conferences between OSHA and employers. (Theoretically, workers always had the right to take part in such meetings, but they rarely took advantage of it. Too often, informal settlements between companies and the government excluded the very workers they were ostensibly designed to protect.) Thus, when General Electric asked OSHA for an informal hearing after the methylene chloride spill, staff members Richard Youngstrom and Jim Weeks of the Local 201 health and safety committee urged the union to participate.

Kathy Fleury, one of about 50 Wilmington workers who evacuated the plant on their own initiative after the spill, volunteered to testify before the hearing. "I'm funny about talking in front of people, especially a board like that," says Fleury. "I was nervous." But when Chuck Mitchell, a GE industrial hygienist who was nowhere near the Wilmington plant at the time of the accident, told government officials that it was his professional opinion, based on 30 years' experience, that only about one gallon of methylene chloride had leaked from the tank, Kathy Fleury's intimidation turned into anger.

"I was getting upset because I felt they were calling me a liar," says Fleury. "They make you out to be an illiterate. They kind of look at you, like to say, 'Boy, is she stupid.' They try to make you feel ridiculous. But you got to turn around and tell them, 'You're lying.' Because it was not one gallon, that's for sure. Not when it takes several hundred pounds of speedi-dry. Not when your

feet are floating in it. I'm sorry, but that's more than a gallon."

Fleury's testimony was instrumental in getting local OSHA officials to uphold the four citations against General Electric, forcing the company to contest them formally to the Review Commission. Union officials were confident that they could make the charges stick there as well, but it would be a Pyrrhic victory at best. "It would be in court a year and a half," explains Frank Emspak, Wilmington's representative on the Local 201 executive board, "and nobody would remember it."

Instead, the health and safety committee, with the encouragement of OSHA officials, decided to try to negotiate an informal settlement with GE that would, says Emspak, "be able to get something immediately" in the way of real changes on the shop floor. Having failed to quash the citations at the informal hearing, General Electric was anxious to settle. Over the next seven months, management met with union officials several times (including one unprecedented meeting at the local union hall) to hammer out an agreement acceptable to both sides.

Finally, in exchange for reducing the four serious violations to two non-serious ones and the fines from \$2,240 to \$500, the company agreed to a long list of union demands. A detailed inspection and maintenance procedure for the vapor degreaser was established. Company medical personnel were trained to recognize the symptoms of methylene chloride poisoning. A comprehensive policy statement on the health effects of methylene chloride—written by the health and safety committee—was distributed to workers in the degreaser area. Most important, GE installed an elaborate continuous monitor to measure the concentrations of methylene chloride in the air around the degreaser. A flashing light signals whenever levels reach 250 parts per million (one-half the current OSHA standard of 500 ppm). Workers have been instructed to evacuate the area whenever the alarm is activated.

The agreement has brought dramatic changes to the Wilmington plant. Before the spill, workers who drained the degreaser tank had no protective clothing whatsoever; others would keep open buckets of methylene chloride near their



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Workers don't have to wait for OSHA to enforce health and safety regs—they can go directly to the company.



Robert Howard



Candace Freedland

General Electric has consistently tried to prohibit unlimited access to its plants for committee representatives. Nevertheless the health and safety committee has won substantial gains for Lynn-area workers, despite management opposition. The informal settlement of the methylene spill is one example. And a year ago, when the local brought the company before the NLRB, charging that its continuing failure to cooperate constituted an unfair labor practice, GE agreed to allow Youngstrom and Weeks to conduct independent union health and safety inspections. In the year since that dispute they have completed nearly 60 shopfloor inspections—an average of one a week.

But perhaps the biggest accomplishment of the Local 201 health and safety committee has come with the help of OSHA itself. In 1978, the committee was one of only two union locals to receive a grant under the agency's innovative New Directions grant program. Designed to encourage health and safety education at the local level, in the past three years the New Directions program has distributed some \$50 million to 150 organizations—most of them international unions, trade associations, universities and other non-profit groups. By October of this year—the third year of Local 201's program—the committee will have received \$207,500 in federal funds.

Besides allowing the union to hire Youngstrom and Weeks, both graduates of Harvard's School of Public Health, as full-time staff members, the New Directions grant supports a comprehensive education and training program not only for Local 201 members but for workers at other unions and for community groups on the North Shore and in the Boston metropolitan area. Every fall and spring, Youngstrom and Weeks put on a seven-session formal training course, teaching workers the rudiments of hazard recognition, health and safety problem-solving, workers' health and safety rights and how to use OSHA.

According to Youngstrom, these courses emphasize that the ultimate guarantors of a safe and healthful workplace are the workers themselves. "There is a tendency for people to depend on the government. They think OSHA stands for 'Our Savior Has Arrived.' One of the things that we like to talk about is, think of OSHA as the minimum wage of health and safety. Just as you wouldn't be satisfied with the minimum wage, you shouldn't be satisfied with minimum health and safety protection either."

Perhaps the most vivid example of how the health and safety committee tries to move beyond the minimum protection provided by OSHA is the series of workplace inspections that Youngstrom and Weeks have undertaken at GE and other firms in the area during the past year. Richard Youngstrom, who used to be an OSHA field inspector, explains that the inspections he now conducts for the union differ markedly from the average OS-

HA inspection.

"OSHA inspections revolve around OSHA standards. They're supposed to find hazards, but what they find are violations of standards. Our inspections are designed to find the hazards themselves. We regularly would ask for something more than the OSHA standards."

What this means is that Youngstrom and Weeks spend a great deal of time talking with workers about the jobs they do. They also pay more attention to the ongoing work environment rather than the specific conditions that might prevail on the day of the inspection. Finally, their experience as consultants to a local union has taught them the necessity of linking health and safety to a wide variety of other workplace issues—"how work is organized and done, basically," says Youngstrom.

Jim Weeks, the health and safety committee's project coordinator, cites the example of new workplace technology. As General Electric introduces more and more industrial robots into its plants, management is targeting them to the most dangerous jobs because worker resistance is weakest there. "It places us in an awkward position, as far as identifying hazardous jobs," says Weeks. The solution to unsafe conditions, he believes, is not to automate the worker out of existence. "We don't know what to do about it, but the whole union is trying to address the issue."

In effect, health and safety struggles at Local 201 have become just one component in the larger effort to help workers gain more control over their work. Again, the outcome of the methylene chloride spill provides the most dramatic example of what a strong local union can accomplish. Despite management efforts to deny the seriousness of the hazard and to obstruct the work of health and safety committee staffers, the final agreement was largely written by the committee. And the comprehensive policy statement on methylene chloride was the work of union experts Youngstrom and Weeks. For the company, says Frank Emspak, "that was a very big deal, that they didn't have control any more over the information going to their workers. It showed people that we could be co-equal with the company. The whole importance of this New Directions thing, of having these guys here on the staff, is that we establish parity with the company."

Weathering the Reagan storm

What will the Reagan administration's campaign in Washington to restrain health and safety regulation mean for GE workers in Lynn? Surprisingly, Jim Weeks thinks that it "won't make an enormous difference." A strong local union, well-informed and ready to stand up for its rights, commands a certain attention and respect from both management and government officials. "That won't change appreciably. We'll be able to weather the storm."

But it is important to realize that, in many ways, the situation in Lynn is a special one. Weeks admits that few American workers, whether unionized or not, have organizations like Local 201's health and safety committee. And if OSHA's major effort to encourage the development of such local expertise, the New Directions program, becomes a target of the Reagan budget cuts, many grassroots health and safety initiatives could suffer. Federal funds for Local 201's program run out next October. If no new financing is forthcoming, the local will have to decide whether it can fund the entire program itself.

But Jim Weeks is hesitant to paint too gloomy a picture of the future. "This is the most ideological, political administration that has been in there in a long time. In a way, that provides us with an interesting opportunity." Unlike other federal agencies such as the EPA or the FTC, OSHA has a clearly defined and potentially powerful constituency. The fact that the Republicans have "put politics back on the table" holds out the promise of an equally political response. And when labor begins aggressively to defend the gains of the past 10 years, the workers of Local 201 will be on the front lines.

machines in order to clean off parts. "Now, we have all this equipment," says Jack Handren, "respirators, the alarm. And it didn't happen until we stood up to them."

Handren also points to another dramatic change at the Wilmington plant: workers have come to realize that, in the words of Frank Emspak, "they and the union have an expertise." Not only did the presence of trained union specialists from the health and safety committee give workers the power to "challenge the company at every step" throughout the negotiations with GE; the entire informal settlement process was a valuable lesson in what health and safety negotiating is all about. "They saw the company lie and it shocked them," says Emspak. "They gained the confidence that they could talk to these people. The end result is that health and safety is pushed; people are prepared to take action."

Wilmington workers are no longer cowed by company experts like Chuck Mitchell, whose role in the methylene chloride episode has earned him the title of "one-gallon Chuck." The nickname has become a kind of symbol, an indica-

Pictured above, left to right: Kathy Fleury, Richard Youngstrom, Jim Weeks and Jack Handren.

tion of the new, more aggressive attitudes toward health and safety among Wilmington workers. "All these years, the company has said, 'you do this,'" Kathy Fleury explains. "The company says and nobody asks any questions at all. Now, all that is changing. And the company is getting mad."

Fighting experts with experts

The union expertise that Frank Emspak describes is the product of 10 years of health and safety activism at Local 201. First established in 1969, the union's health and safety committee has been involved in a continuous battle with General Electric management. The issue is whether health and safety is a legitimate area of negotiation between union and the company.

"The committee never was and still is not recognized by the company," says Richard Youngstrom. There is virtually no language in the union contract that relates specifically to health and safety.

EDITORIAL

Anti-Semitism and the left

As a people who have suffered oppression throughout history, and who in this century were subjected to an incomprehensible campaign of extermination by Nazi Germany, Jews have not only seen themselves as victims, but, especially in the first half of this century, also as allies of other oppressed peoples. But other oppressed peoples no longer see it this way, and Jews themselves, and especially organized Jews in this country, no longer identify with many traditional Jewish causes and principles.

Thus we have just seen the Non-aligned States at their annual conference in New Delhi denounce Israel as an oppressor nation (and implicitly as a tool of

Nor have Jews identified with the left only in the U.S. As an often-persecuted minority in Europe, Jews were active in movements for democratic rights—for secular pluralism and for civil and political equality of all oppressed minorities, of which they were usually the most conspicuous. Indeed, as Diana Johnstone has pointed out (*In These Times*, Oct. 29), modern anti-Semitism in France was initiated by enemies of the Republic intent on undermining its liberal ideas and institutions. Especially because of this use of anti-Semitism as an attack on liberal democratic principles, anti-Semitism has always been opposed by the French left.

In Germany, of course, anti-Semitism

as part of a general campaign against democratic dissidents.

Jews in the West.

On the other hand, in the West, and particularly in the United States, Jews have been integrated at all levels of society and in all of its institutions. Anti-Semitism still exists, of course, but as a political program it is generally restricted to extreme right-wing and virulently racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan. In the pecking order of ethnic oppression in the United States, Jews are on the order of Poles, Italians and other Eastern European national groups, subject to similar ethnic slurs and random discrimination.

For their part, American Jews in recent years have identified less and less with the left and with liberal principles in general. The re-emergence of Eastern European anti-Semitism has played its part in estranging American Jews from their traditional identification with the left, but as Nathan Glazer noted in 1972 (in *American Judaism*), an important role in this process has also been played by Israel's role in the Middle East. Glazer argued that it was becoming more difficult for American Jews to remain ethnically loyal and liberal, because, among other reasons, of their uncritical support for Israel and its policies toward Palestinians in conquered Arab lands.

In the Israel magazine *New Outlook* (Sept. 1980), Lawrence Davidson writes that the underlying cause of the tendency for American Jews to move away from liberal principles has been the contradiction between "liberal theory that is the political faith of many American Jews and the ethnocentric practice that constitutes the political reality of Israel." As Davidson observes, both Israel and the U.S. have democratic institutions, but Israel is in fact an "ethnocracy": As a state it is designed first and foremost for Jews, for whom full civil rights and liberties are, in practice, reserved. Non-Jews can vote, Davidson notes, but are often otherwise subjected to discrimination—in jobs, access to land, mobility, rights of speech and assembly and inter-faith marriage.

The status of Jews in Israel, where they are the only first-class citizens, conflicts with American democratic traditions and with American political theory. The principles of political and civil equality and of justice and freedom for all are deeply rooted in the American political tradition—though, of course, they frequently have been ignored or violated, and for some groups more or less consistently. But American Jews have generally been committed to these values, not only because they have been born or raised within their framework, but also, as Davidson notes, because Jewish history has taught them "that their own minority position can be secure only in an environment that recognizes and respects the rights of all minorities."

Before the 1967 Mideast war the contradiction between these liberal democratic principles and the Israeli reality could be reconciled by Jews, and by Israel's non-Jewish friends, because the security, perhaps even the survival, of Israel remained in question. But the Israeli victory in the 1967 war changed all that. Having emerged (temporarily) more powerful than its hostile Arab neighbors, Israel was in a position to secure its future by seeking an accommodation with them. And the key to doing that was recognition of the legitimacy of the rights and claims of the Palestinians who had either been displaced with the founding of Israel in 1948, or who were natives of the territories captured in 1967.

Instead, first under the Labor Party

and then with increased militancy under Menachim Begin, Palestinian claims have been denied, and the Palestinians' right to choose their own representatives has been ignored. Through support for new settlements in the captured territories, as well as suppression of cultural and political dissent, the Israeli government has flaunted its disregard for Palestinian Arab sentiment and also for international sentiment, especially of Third World nations.

With each passing year, however, it becomes increasingly clear that the Israeli policies are not working—and, indeed, cannot work. Palestinian resistance and Arab hostility cannot be ended by Israeli military superiority or by expansion into the occupied territories. In the light of the energy crisis, the Arab nations are becoming vastly wealthy and increasingly influential in international relations. Sooner or later, if an accommodation is not reached, the balance of power in the Middle East will shift sharply to the side of the Arab nations.

Meanwhile, at home, the militarization of Israeli society is taking a heavy toll. In recent years, Israeli defense spending has accounted for 30 percent of the country's GNP. This extraordinary diversion of resources has hindered the provision of vital social services such as education and housing, and has created an economic crisis. In 1980, Israel suffered from a 133 percent inflation rate, the highest in the world. Real net earnings fell by 9 percent, and unemployment jumped from 2.8 percent at the beginning of the year to an ominous 5.4 percent by the end of January 1981.

As a result of Israel's military and economic problems, emigration has also become a serious problem. Since the Yom Kippur War, emigration from Israel has grown from fewer than 13,000 persons a year to around 18,000 in 1980, while immigration has dwindled from 56,000 in 1972 to less than 21,000 in 1980. Lack of economic security and a serious housing shortage are important factors in this trend. A recent study conducted by Jewish Agency director Shmuel Lahis also reported that many Israelis now leave the country to avoid military service. Lahis concludes that "Yerida [emigration] is now more serious than ever because it includes young people, those who got the best education Israeli society can offer."

The adverse consequences of government policies have not only been felt within Israel, however, but have also had increasingly negative repercussions for Jews throughout the world. This is especially true in the United States, where the close public identification of Jews with the attitudes and actions of the Israeli government have driven a wedge between the Jewish community and blacks, Hispanics and others.

In an editorial almost three years ago (*In These Times*, May 17, 1978), we wrote that "Begin's course points Israel toward a ruinous economy and a garrison state destructive of its democratic institutions and of its aspirations to build a rich and thriving Jewish national culture. It risks Israel's isolation from many of its allies and the squandering of support from the American people." We believe that this is still true today.

Fortunately, within Israel there is growing opposition to the Begin policies and their consequences at home. And there is growing sentiment for accommodation with the Palestinians based on a recognition that Palestine is the home of both Israelis and Palestinian Arabs, and that each has the right to self-determination in the form of recognized statehood. There is also a growing willingness to negotiate with any Palestinian organization (including the PLO) that will recognize the right of Israel to exist as a state. And equally fortunately, the New Jewish Agenda is attempting to mobilize the sentiments of the many American Jews who remain committed to traditional liberal and left principles, both in the Middle East and at home. As socialists, we support the accommodationist tendency in Israel, which is the only path to its long-term security and to justice for the Palestinians. And we support the efforts of the New Jewish Agenda to recreate a Jewish left presence in American life.



Western imperialism), and we have seen noted Jewish leaders and intellectuals like *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz throw in their lot with the Reagan administration, a trend that has led a wide range of Jewish leftists to meet and form the New Jewish Agenda in an attempt to halt the rightward drift of the organized Jewish community. (See *In These Times*, Feb. 18.)

Twenty years ago no one would have dreamed that such a conference would become necessary. Since World War I, when Eastern European Jewish immigrants strongly identified with the old Socialist Party's opposition to American entry into the war as an ally of the hated Russian Czar, American Jews had been strongly identified with the liberal or socialist left in the United States. In the decades following the war and the Russian Revolution, a heavily disproportionate number of Jews supported left causes and many joined or identified with the Socialist or Communist parties.

In the '30s, Jews supported Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal reforms in overwhelming numbers. And Jews played a disproportionately large role in support of black struggles against segregation and for civil rights from the '30s to the '60s.

was a major part of the Nazis' campaign against the liberalism and democratic pluralism of the Weimar Republic. Nazi anti-Semitism, culminating in the Holocaust, lined Jews up overwhelmingly against fascism throughout the world. And long before this experience, Jews in Russia and in Eastern Europe were prominent in liberal and socialist movements for democracy. While for their part, in the early years after the revolution in Russia in 1917 and until after the post-World War II establishment of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, socialists and Communists defended Jewish and other minority rights and were the most consistent opponents of anti-Semitism anywhere in Europe.

But no longer. Since the end of World War II, Communists in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have condoned and engaged in a resurgence of anti-Semitic activities as a concomitant of the general denial of civil liberties and of the Communists' fear of democratic pluralism. In these societies, where social and political diversity are seen as a threat to the ruling party, and where the old revolutionary principles have atrophied, traditional anti-Semitism, still endemic in society at large, has reasserted itself and has been promoted by government officials

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

TECHNOLOGY

THE COMPREHENSIVE REPORT ON the effects of new technology in the communications industry (*ITT*, Jan. 21) was illuminating and provocative.

Unlike telephone and office workers, newspaper printers have been able to maintain a remarkable degree of control over our computerized work due to our (ITU) union's unique traditions. However, as pointed out in your article, the old craft union structure protects only a small number of members, and traditional forms of resistance to management control are inadequate for workers whose jobs are being eliminated.

In reply to the sociologist who stated that we lost jobs because "a strong and effective union stance in some plants" contributed to the bankruptcy of some newspapers—perhaps he also believes the sacrifices of Chrysler workers can save the corporation—one effective way to retain jobs and worker control of technology in the printing trade is to organize those several hundred thousands of newspaper workers in the U.S. who are not in any union.

And to do this we need, as you say, union expertise together with an informed, politically active workforce. Thanks for your help.

—Anita Reinthaller
Member, ITU Local 21
San Francisco

SUBSIDIZING THE NEEDY

I FOUND YOUR ARTICLE ABOUT FOOD stamps and the prospective battle over them in the next session of Congress (*ITT*, Jan. 28) both interesting and informative. However, I must admit that I was a little surprised to detect an omission from the authors' list of possible defenses against a deep slash in the food stamp program—namely a strong offensive against the government's tobacco price supports.

Senator Helms is from North Carolina, a state that is quite dependent upon the tobacco industry, and he could be quite willing to trade major food stamp concessions for continuance of support for tobacco.

—Donald W. Firke
Chapel Hill, N.C.

TOO DIPLOMATIC

DAVID MOBERG WAS TOO DIPLOMATIC in his response to David F. Noble's comments on his coverage of the Washington conference on Eurosoci-alism (*ITT*, Feb. 4). Noble's argument that those who accept money from the German Marshall Fund are tools of Tri-lateralism is the kind of moralistic posturing that dooms the American left to its well deserved ghetto. Political criticism of Eurosoci-alism is one thing, Noble's comments are another.

To indicate the folly of this position: Carl Marzani acknowledged the use of a travel grant from the U.S. German Marshall Fund in the front material to *The Promise of Eurocommunism*. Marzani a stooge of David Rockefeller? He would be surprised to hear that.

—William Thorne
Kent, Ohio

IRE OVER IRA

I MUST TAKE EXCEPTION TO YOUR two-page spread on Ireland (*ITT*, Feb. 4), which served to legitimize the Provisional IRA, a terrorist paramilitary formation that is explicitly anti-

socialist, and that for more than a decade has retarded progressive development in Ireland.

The "Patriot Game" is flatly a propaganda film for the Provos, full of guns and "romantic" imagery. Like propaganda films generally, it views the world from a narrowly myopic point of view.

The film slides directly from scenes of police suppression of civil rights marchers in 1968 to Provo bombings in the mid-'70s with little explanation of the relationship between the two. The narrative leaves the impression that the Provos played a leading part in the civil rights struggle, and that their narrow militarism is the natural outgrowth of the gains won by the mass protest. In fact, militarism on both sides of the sectarian divide brought the civil rights movement to its knees as it was preparing for its ultimate battle—a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland—a battle yet to be won.

Later in the film, MacCaig celebrates the "grass-roots economic theories" of the Provos and their Falls Road Taxis, but then films a car-bombing of a small business in Belfast. The latter sequence, supposedly designed to show an economic target being destroyed, points up the fact that the overwhelming majority of Provo targets are small businesses and working-class people, and reinforces the infrequency with which the Provos actually take on "imperialist" forces, either military or economic.

"The Patriot Game" is too shallow. It is a simple justification of continued militarism.

Alfred McClung Lee's review is even-handed, although his conclusion—"The notable nonviolent confrontations in this struggle have gained far more than have the violent"—is understated. His lack of focused criticism tends to buttress the pro-Provo propaganda in the other article.

By helping to legitimize the Provisional IRA and its campaign of terror, *In These Times* has not met its obligation to its readers or to the people of Ireland.

—Michael Dollard
General Secretary, Irish Republican Clubs
of North America, Albany, N.Y.

IRE OVER UDV

"MONTHS AND MONTHS OF BLOODY Sundays" (*ITT*, Feb. 4) was excellent and seems to indicate the real problems of the British presence in Northern Ireland.

Previous to 1969 under Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the Catholic Irish viewed the British soldiers as protectors and the IRA seemed to fade away.

But in 1969, with the election of Conservative Edward Heath and the deals made with the Conservative faction in Northern Ireland, the purpose of the presence of British soldiers changed. The Ulster Defense Volunteers, a Protestant terrorist group, was given carte blanche, and suspected IRA people were tortured, murdered and sometimes caused to vanish with no attempt by the British soldiers to help stop it.

I've been in Northern Ireland in both the summer of '69 and '71 and terrible things were done by the UDV, yet they were not reported by the media. The Catholic-owned hotel in Ballintory was burned to the ground—because it was Catholic owned. The beautiful Catholic church in Ballycastle was fire-bombed, yet the media never reported it.

The British soldiers are despised because the politics of the situation dictates that they ignore the activities of Protestant military organizations like

the UDV, yet give all-out media and combat efforts to fight the IRA—which, if the British did justice, would not even exist.

—Peter A. McNeill
Brooklyn, N.Y.

DISGUSTED

THANK YOU FOR BRUCE DANCIS' article on John Lennon (*ITT*, Dec. 24). I was disgusted at Mary Curtin's callous rebuttal (Feb. 4). If "individual deaths" are not worthy of people's grief and anger, then no death is worthy of people's grief and anger. Each person dies alone, and leaves a painful void in the lives of those who loved him or her as an individual, whether death comes at the hands of a gun-toting lunatic in New York or a government official in El Salvador. John Lennon was not "fortunate to reach a lot of people," so much as the world's people were fortunate to be touched by Lennon's words, melodies and commitment to world peace and justice. Who is Curtin to determine the "proper perspective" for the grief of millions of people who loved Lennon?

Anguish over John Lennon's death does not preclude outrage at the continuing oppression of Third World people. If Curtin is unable to understand the pain of others over Lennon's death, I doubt the sincerity of her concern for anonymous masses in faraway places.

—R.B. Wilk
Montclair, N.J.

REDNECKS

WAYNE BARRETT (*ITT*, FEB. 11) BE-gins his piece on New York's lack of concern for the effect of rising fuel prices on the poor in this way: "The urban redneck mayor, Ed Koch, is freezing the poor out of New York."

I read that sentence several times to figure out what Barrett meant by "red-neck."

The main point of his story is that Koch is cutting emergency and assistance programs that help the poor. This in New York City, traditionally one of the most liberal American cities. And by a Democrat who built his career on the liberal programs he is now cutting.

Redneck is the same as nigger when used in this context. You would not describe someone as an "urban faggot mayor," an "urban nigger mayor" or an "urban dyke mayor."

Second, is Barrett saying that all white poor people in the South are racist or anti-poor? If so, he is wrong—and I don't have time to list all of the multi-racial organizations of poor people in both areas that oppose Koch's policies. When you run articles about southern labor, about militant coal miners in Appalachia, about commun-

ity housing groups or medical clinics—you don't describe these organizations as "redneck" unions or "redneck" clinics.

Third, Koch's reasons for cutting out aid programs have nothing to do with attitudes or class positions Barrett seems to think rednecks embody. It is much more in the interest of your readers clearly to explain what motivates big-city liberal Democrats to act illiberally than to call them "Klansmen in pinstripe suits" or rednecks, or whatever trendy insults the *Village Voice* can concoct. *ITT* and other publications like it should be especially careful in affixing useful and accurate labels on politicians and political acts. It would have been useful for Barrett to show us what interests Koch is representing in his moves against the poor. Is it the wish of the city's bankers? Its upper classes? Its middle classes? Its merchants? One ethnic group against another? There is nothing in his article about this.

—Curtis Seltzer
Washington, D.C.

CHEAP SHOT

IN THE MIDDLE OF AN OTHERWISE IN-formative article (*ITT*, Jan. 21) on the upcoming Israeli election, your correspondent David Mahdel, in one short phrase, mentioned the possibility of a "suspension of the democratic-electoral process." What a bombshell! Does he suspect or have information that the rest of us are completely unaware of? If so, why not a more adequate and detailed explanation? If not, what a cheap and irresponsible shot to make toward Israel, certainly the most politically stable and "democratic" country in the Middle East.

—Irwin Levin
Los Angeles, Calif.

CORRECTION

In *ITT* Feb. 18 a letter appeared by Michelle Martin raising certain questions about Noam Chomsky's stand on the Faurisson affair. This was followed by a paragraph headed "Chomsky replies." The paragraph was excerpted by the editor without Chomsky's knowledge from a manuscript for his article in *The Nation* (Feb. 28), which deals with the questions Martin raised. The paragraph was not written in response to Martin's letter, which Chomsky had not seen. We regret any misunderstanding this may have caused.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES



Taiwan in Brooklyn

Why move overseas when you can get the work done at low piece-rates with no overhead or benefits right here? A hard-pressed apparel industry is bringing back "home work"—and telling us it's a great deal for women.

Are we in for another witchhunt?

John Judis reports on the new Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

LABOR HISTORY

Black labor: A long row to hoe

By Nell Painter

BLACK WORKERS' RELATIONSHIP to unions and labor politics is closely tied to black participation in politics, their minority status in nearly all occupations and the race prejudice of white workers. Between 1865 and 1941, the record is pretty dismal. Until the late 1930s, when hundreds of thousands of Negroes had migrated from the South to the North, where they could vote and exercise political power, and when the new unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) began including them, black workers lacked effective voices in their workplaces and the political arena.

The era of exclusion may now have passed forever from the labor scene. As long as Afro-Americans wield enough political clout to insure fair employment practices, labor will not easily return to the racist practices of the past. Yet so long as unemployment remains disproportionate, jobless black workers, particularly young people, provide a labor pool that threatens the achievements of organized labor in wages, work safety and job security. It is possible that an anti-union administration in Washington may buy the allegiance of Negroes with low-paying, non-union jobs, reopening a racial breach in the workforce that would be detrimental to all of labor.

After slavery.

A. Philip Randolph, the most prominent black unionist, noted that "the labor



Frederick Douglass, former abolitionist, was a co-founder, with Isaac Meyers, of the National Colored Labor Union.

movement cannot afford to be split along any lines." That sentiment has been honored in words, at least, by nearly every federation of labor—if not by individual locals and unions or on the shop floor—from the time of the earliest post-Civil War labor organizations.

Between 1866 and the early 1870s, the National Labor Union gave occasional lip service to the idea of organizing Negroes, but partisan politics and racial antipathy frustrated any meaningful action.

Meanwhile, blacks organized their own union, the Colored National Labor Union, which lasted from 1869 to 1874 in the Washington, D.C. area. This organization exemplified much that has typified black political activity from before the Civil War to the present time, for though nearly every Negro, male and female, works for a living, black leaders are not noted for their working-class demeanor. If anything, outstanding blacks have tended more to resemble gentlemen than workingmen.

Accordingly, many of the figures prominent in the Colored National Labor Union were not workers but race spokesmen, journalists and politicians like Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet and John Mercer Langston. But each of these men had worked hard as a



Isaac Meyers, a ship's carpenter, was the leading black unionist of the late 19th century.

youngster and they shared a concern for the working-class interests of blacks that only a union could address. They also agreed that the Republican Party represented best their interests as a race.

In the South, where most blacks lived until the 1960s, the Republican Party in the late 1860s and early 1870s was the party of working people. In a region where the great majority farmed, land tenure and credit practices were prime concerns. To the extent that either party represented working-class interests in the heyday of black voting (1867-1876), the Republican Party stood for its constituency of newly enfranchised blacks. In the best of conditions, as in Louisiana or South Carolina, Republicans in southern legislatures championed free public schools, land reform, and exemption laws (which placed personal property beyond the reach of foreclosure when a crop did not pay the landowner's or shopkeeper's share or rent). This identification of the Republican Party with black interests outlived racial and economic realities, moving one black journalist to note in 1918 the absurdity of "a race of tenants and workers accepting political leaders selected by landlords, bankers and big capitalists."

The Knights of Labor.

The great labor movement of the late 19th century was the Knights of Labor. Begun in the late 1860s in Pennsylvania, it peaked in 1886 with more than 700,000 members. Taking the entire American working class, skilled and unskilled, as its terrain, the Knights hoped eventually to replace the wage system with a cooperative commonwealth encompassing all Americans, regardless of sex or color. In the interim, however, the Knights' power translated into a wave of strikes that crested in 1886, the year of labor's Great Upheaval.

The most extensive of the year's 1,400 strikes spread across Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri and Arkansas as the Knights of Labor struck the Gould railroad system in what came to be known as the great southwestern strike. The grievances of black workers lay at its center.

The strike, which was ultimately lost, aimed to secure recognition of the Knights and to raise the wages of unskilled, poorly paid sectionmen, many of whom were black. Unlike the newly organized American Federation of Labor (AFL), the Knights of Labor embraced unskilled workers. At that time, some 60,000 knights were black, and black women made up several local assemblies—laundresses, domestic work-

ers and especially tobacco workers around Richmond, Va.

In 1886 the Knights of Labor were strong enough in Richmond to host the union's largest annual convention. But Richmond's southern mores provoked an incident that centered on a well known Negro Knight, Frank Ferrell of New York City's outspoken District Assembly 49. When a Richmond hotelkeeper drew the color line against Ferrell, his white brothers joined him in lodgings in the Negro section of town. And in the convention's opening session Ferrell introduced Terence Powderly, the Grand Master Workman, with a ringing denunciation of racial discrimination.

The outcome pleased black workers but alienated southern white Knights, whose idea of appropriate union activity inclined less towards social reform than toward the pure and simple unionism of the AFL. As the Knights declined in the following years, the AFL shunned wider reforms for the most part and stuck to narrow, achievable aims.

This is not to say that in its early years the AFL did not speak and act occasionally to discourage racial proscription in its affiliated unions. When in the late 1880s the International Association of Machinists barred black workers, the AFL encouraged the organization of a rival union. Throughout the '80s and most of the '90s, the federation spoke bravely of a union movement of all American workers, regardless of color. In action, however, it was far less vigorous.

The People's Party.

Spurred by the two major parties, many workers and farmers took part in the People's Party, which grew out of a co-

alition of unions and Farmers Alliances of the South and West. At the organizing meeting for the third party in 1891, Terence Powderly of the Knights of Labor and Ignatius Donnelly of the western Farmers Alliance denounced sectionalism and the color line in politics. The People's Party, they promised, would unite the producers of the South and West, farmers and workmen, black and white. Although the white southern Farmers Alliance were militant on farm issues, they held back from the third party movement because of the race issue. They had not objected to a separate Colored Farmers Alliance so long as it did not show any great independence of action, but in the late '80s and early '90s, the Colored Alliance offended the racial attitudes of white Alliancemen.

In 1889 in Mississippi, Colored Alliancemen boycotted white merchants who overcharged, a tactic Alliancemen had often used to good effect. But when the governor sent in the militia and several black Alliancemen were killed, their white counterparts kept silent. When the Colored Alliance supported the Lodge Federal Elections bill of 1890, which would have safeguarded black suffrage, white Alliancemen opposed the Colored Alliance. Finally, the Colored Alliance organized a strike of agricultural workers—cotton pickers—in 1891, which the white Alliancemen broke in their role of employers. There was to be no cooperation of southern producers across the color line in the late 19th century.

The most potent enemy of third party politics in the south was the whites' fear of black political power, even when exercised in the interest of producer unity. There were some exceptions, such as Leonidas L. Polk of North Carolina and Tom Watson of Georgia, but for most southern whites, the conviction that government was the preserve of white men overrode any sentiments of interracial class solidarity, on the land or in the shop.

American separation of labor.

By the turn of the century, racial exclusion and segregation were becoming law, not just custom. By 1910 all southern states had virtually eliminated black voting through grandfather clauses of poll taxes. The pure and simple craft unionism of the AFL no longer challenged the color line in its unions or political parties. Racial exclusion was the rule in both places in the early 20th century.

With the exception of the mineworkers' and longshoremen's unions, the left-led unions and the unique Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, black workers and organized labor were mutually exclusive until the rise of the CIO in the mid-1930s. In East St. Louis, Ill., in 1917 and in Chicago in 1919, the combination of strikes and racially split workforces sparked anti-black pogroms. Although violent upheavals of the order of Chicago and East St. Louis were unusual, such conditions occurred time and again in industrial centers: unions excluded blacks, factories ordinarily did not employ blacks, but when white workers went out on strike, black workers—sometimes brought in from the South—got jobs as strikebreakers. To many white union men, a black man was naturally a scab.

Afro-Americans were divided and understandably ambivalent about organized labor in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Reformers associated with white

Frank J. Ferrell, a black leader of the Knights of Labor, introducing Terence V. Powderly to the Knights at their Richmond, Va., convention in 1886.





Most of the tobacco industry workers were black in the early 1900s. These workers in 1903 worked 13 hours a day and earned six to nine cents an hour. The women and children shown here stripped stems from leaves and were the lowest paid.

From the demise of the Knights of Labor until the CIO formed in the '30s, unions excluded blacks.

philanthropists, such as Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee Institute, played down the importance of unionization. But younger blacks recognized that Negroes needed unions as much as any other working-class group and that this natural leaning was frustrated only by racism in the labor movement. A. Philip Randolph, editor of the New York *Messenger*, called the AFL the "American Separation of Labor," and labeled it "the most wicked machine for the propagation of race prejudice in the country."

In fact, the AFL seemed bent on living up to Randolph's characterization in the first third of this century. When W.E.B. DuBois and other blacks in the Niagara Movement called for entry of blacks into unions in 1905, the AFL was not listening. During the vicious campaign waged by the railroad brotherhoods to oust Negroes from skilled jobs in that industry, the AFL registered no protest. And when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called for the formation of an interracial labor commission in the mid-1920s, Samuel Gompers and the Federation made no response.

Exceptions occurred only where blacks constituted a significant proportion of the workforce, as among longshoremen in coastal ports and in the industries clustered around Birmingham, Ala., where half the miners and 65 percent of the iron and steel workers were Negroes. There an integrated labor movement flourished between 1894 and 1904. Operators broke both a series of strikes and the interracial unions by importing white workers from the North. But for a time at least, Birmingham's workers realized

their full strength through interracial organization.

The only predominantly white AFL union with significant Negro membership was the United Mine Workers, formed in 1890, from the beginning a partially industrial union. In 1902 the mineworkers represented 20,000 Negro miners, or half the total blacks in the AFL. The UMW organized black miners in Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Alabama. It was fortunate for both the industrial union movement and for Afro-American workers that the impetus for the CIO came largely from the UMW, where blacks came closest to sharing equally in the union. The miners compiled a record for organizing black workers approached only by the small and marginal organizations on the left: the Industrial Workers of the World, the Western Federation of Miners (later the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union), and the unions associated with the Communist Party—the Trade Union Educational League, the Trade Union Unity League and the American Negro Labor Congress.

The Brotherhood.

This country's only predominantly black union was organized in 1925 when a group of Pullman porters approached the socialist journalist A. Philip Randolph. They belonged to a company union that they felt did not represent them adequately. Other porters had attempted to organize in 1900, 1912 and 1924 without lasting success.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters struggled for four years before receiving any recognition from the AFL and for a dozen years before being recognized by the Pullman Company. The Hotel and Restaurant Employees Alliance blocked the Brotherhood's application for affiliation with the AFL in 1926 on the ground that the porters were more waiters than railroad workers. Yet the hotel and restaurant workers had not only made no attempt to organize the Pullman porters, their constitution barred black members. The hotel workers preferred to organize segregated auxiliaries for the porters. In 1928 the AFL accepted the Brotherhood as a group of affiliated locals and granted full international status in 1936.

In 1937 the Pullman Company recognized the Brotherhood in the first agreement ever signed between a Negro union and a major employer. The agreement provided for higher wages and the abolition of unpaid work and excessive working hours. Between 1926 and 1937 the company had denied the Brotherhood recognition by firing porters active in the union and replacing them with Filipino workers, and by contending that porters were not railroad workers and hence unaffected by the Railway Labor Act of 1926 that provided for union representation.

For Afro-Americans the Brotherhood was more than simply a union of Pullman porters. It stood for black labor in general. A. Philip Randolph, head of the union, came to be known as Mr. Black Labor, the most prominent spokesman for black workers within or without his or other unions. Black people of all sorts respected Randolph and the Brotherhood as the appropriate representative of the race. Serious opposition came, rather, from the left.

Radical criticism had begun as soon as the Brotherhood applied for affiliation with the AFL, when the American Negro Labor Congress criticized Randolph for selling out and forsaking "militant struggle in the interest of the workers for the policy of class collaboration with the bosses." The opposition of the ANLC, which never reached large numbers of black workers, was not as painful for Randolph as his break with the much larger National Negro Congress, in 1940.

Randolph had been anti-communist for decades when, as president of the National Negro Congress, he criticized the Soviet Union in a speech. The Congress voted him out of office and elected a former YMCA secretary who was closer to Communist Party policies. This move, in connection with several other NNC actions that accorded closely with Communist Party positions, made many blacks see the Congress as less of a black organization and more of an appendage of the Communist Party. Randolph regretted his ouster from a national Afro-American organization, but the action did not prevent his influencing federal employment policies.

Fair employment practices.

The oldest grievance of black workers in this country has been exclusion from employment. When the U.S. geared up for defense production in 1940, black workers were routinely refused employment, even when they possessed valuable skills. The federal government awarded the contracts and paid the bills, but it did not enforce clauses that barred racial discrimination in war work. The existence of such clauses testified to the political clout of northern blacks, who, unlike their peers in southern states, could

vote. Responding to a groundswell of black opinion, Randolph and the Brotherhood formed the March on Washington Movement to bring 100,000 Negroes to the capital in 1941 to protest discrimination in war work and the armed forces: "We loyal American citizens demand the right to work and fight for our country," said the call to action.

Faced with this threat of mass action, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, one of the most important victories in the black struggle for equality. Executive Order 8802 ban-



ned racial discrimination in defense industries and government employment, but not in the armed forces, which remained segregated until the mid-1950s.

Organized black labor, embodied in Randolph and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, spearheaded the movement for fair employment that opened industrial jobs to blacks. Access to remunerative employment was the vital first step of blacks out of a netherland of poverty and into the American mainstream. By the end of World War II, black workers were positioned to take their rightful places in organized labor and to pressure for legislation that furthered their own working-class interests. The New Deal coalition of blacks, liberals and organized labor produced the legislative underpinnings of the civil rights revolution and the social welfare programs of the Great Society that have so benefitted workers and poor people in this country regardless of race.

Nell Irvin Painter teaches history at the University of North Carolina and is the author of a biography of Hosea Hudson. Series edited by Paul Buhle and Alan Dawley. Copyright ©1981 Paul Buhle and Alan Dawley.

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Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

February 16, 1981
Bal Harbour, Fla.

America needs economic policies that deal effectively and equitably with the causes of inflation and the weaknesses that prolong unemployment.

Such policies must base any sharing of austerity in the fight against inflation on the ability to sacrifice, and not demand even more sacrifice from those who know only austerity. They also must include adequate resources to provide needed investment in specific industrial and geographic sectors within an overall employment program.

Based on these key principles, the AFL-CIO supports economic policies that:

First, reduce interest rates. The high cost of money spreads throughout the economy and is built into the cost of all goods and services. High interest rates choke the economy and prevent expansion. High interest rates and high unemployment are the major contributors to a high budget deficit.

Second, dampen actual inflationary forces directly rather than attempting to depress demand in the hope that this generalized approach may eventually cool the causes of inflation as the entire economy is thrust into a deep freeze.

Cutting federal expenditures to balance the budget is not a cure-all for inflation. Budget cuts will not protect the economy from spiraling energy and food costs, nor will they bring down housing costs.

At a time like the present, when large portions of plant capacity stand idle and when a big segment of the labor force is unemployed, federal budget cuts will only aggravate already sluggish economic conditions. When both labor and capital resources are fully used, then a balanced budget makes sense.

Third, reduce unemployment by providing training and job opportunities for those specific population groups that have neither and encourage the rebuilding of the economy, especially in industries and geographic areas hardest hit by unemployment. The ranks of the jobless will not be diminished by undermining the wages, standards and safeguards of those who already hold jobs. Rather, there must be a policy that improves the ability of American industry to compete in the world economy by modernizing outdated plants and equipment and by modernizing outdated foreign trade policies.

Reducing unemployment is the most effective method of reducing the federal deficit. Yet, the current unemployment rate is 7.4 percent, a level that was surpassed in the post-World War II years only by the 1975-76 recession. Each one percent decline in joblessness increases federal revenues and decreases social costs a total of \$30 billion. Putting one million jobless workers back to work would balance the previous administration's proposed fiscal 1982 budget.

Fourth, use an effective combination of targeted taxing and expenditure programs to reverse the damage caused by inflation and unemployment. Individual

tax cuts should be used to restore consumer buying power. Business tax cuts should be used to stimulate investment where it is needed the most. Government revenues should be used to sustain consumer spending during periods of unemployment.

A tax cut that fuels inflation by encouraging the wealthy to buy more luxuries or speculate in commodities is not an answer to the nation's economic woes. A general across-the-board business tax cut or depreciation speed-up would provide large windfalls to sectors of the economy that are already prosperous while ignoring critical industry and area investment capital needs.

Today's problems of unemployment and inflation cannot be measured by "averages" or solved by aggregate across-the-board policies. The impact of unemployment and inflation are distributed unevenly across different sectors, regions and demographic groups. The solution to these problems; therefore, does not lie in macroeconomic policies that are applied in an unfocused manner. The nation needs to address its problems in a manner that alleviates the underlying forces pushing up inflation and unemployment.

As we have said in the past: if an overall program of price and income controls becomes necessary to fight inflation, we are prepared to cooperate, provided controls are fair and equitable and applied to all prices and all forms of income.

Specifically, the AFL-CIO calls for adoption of the following program:

I. Lowering high interest rates

- Credit controls should be authorized by the President and instituted by the Federal Reserve Board. Funds and credit should be targeted to certain sectors of the economy for productive industrial development and needed housing expansion. Existing credit control procedures should be used and new tools developed to tighten credit for speculative activities and made available to productive uses.

II. Anti-inflation policies

To reduce inflation in energy:

- Maintain controls on natural gas to moderate price increases.
- Continue presidential authority to control oil prices and invoke rationing in time of need.
- Expand development of alternative sources of energy to prevent short-term and long-term shortages that artificially increase prices.
- Assist utilities to convert from high-priced oil to coal.
- Equalize utility rate structures to end the subsidy consumers are providing for large industrial users and institute peak-load pricing.
- Expand energy conservation programs, especially the weatherization of schools, hospitals, public buildings and low-income housing.
- Establish a U.S. oil import agency to purchase and distribute oil imports, thus assuring the nation an adequate supply of oil at a fair price.

To reduce inflation in housing:

- Expand the supply of low- and middle-income housing to alleviate the housing shortage that is driving up prices and rents.
- Reduce mortgage interest rates by expanding the use of so-called "tandem plans" that provide below-market interest rate mortgages for low- and middle-income buyers.
- Encourage home mortgage financing by union pension funds invested in long-term, fixed-payment mortgages guaranteed by the government.
- Discourage the conversion of rental housing structures to condominiums in

tight housing markets.

- Restrict the export of logs which is causing shortage-induced domestic price increases for lumber.

To reduce inflation in food:

- Restrict the export of commodities in short supply.
- Remove restrictions on the planting of crops.
- Limit price support programs to small- and moderate-sized farms that are owned and worked by resident farm families.
- Establish a National Grain Board, similar to the Canadian Wheat Board, to handle foreign sales of U.S. grain.

To reduce inflation in health care:

- Enact hospital cost containment.
- Encourage expansion of Health Maintenance Organizations, which have a proven record of lower health care costs.
- Use cost-reducing practices, such as second opinions before elective surgery and support for health planning to eliminate duplication of costly equipment and services.
- Provide medical care for Medicare and Medicaid recipients under HMO programs using per capita payments for total health care services rather than more costly fee-for-service payments.
- Reform health insurance practices to eliminate cost-plus reimbursement and negotiated fee schedules.
- Reform the health care system through national health insurance.

III. Reducing unemployment and rebuilding the economy

Reindustrialization

- Business, labor and government should participate in a Reindustrialization Board. Under this Board, a Reconstruction Finance Corporation would invest public and private funds in necessary reindustrialization projects.
- The RFC should have authority to allocate \$5 billion in depreciation allowances, investment tax credits, or other business tax changes targeted to where they are most urgently needed.
- The RFC should be allotted an additional \$5 billion to: encourage new industries that have difficulty obtaining necessary financing; and assist older industries with special capital needs for modernization, expansion and restoration of their competitive position. The RFC should also direct its resources to specific geographic areas of the country that are most in need.
- The nation's transportation network needs to be upgraded for people and goods to move more efficiently. Railroads, highways, port facilities and airports are in desperate need of rehabilitation. Urban mass transit systems need to be extended and modernized.
- The urban infrastructure of sewers, water systems, streets and bridges needs to be renewed. Public investment of this nature would greatly improve economic efficiency and potential output of goods and services.
- There should be a thorough review and analysis of existing investment tax "incentives" in the light of reindustrialization goals. The capital gains exclusion, rapid depreciation, oil depletion allowances and investment tax credits have all been enacted as tax "incentives" to investment. Tens of billions of federal dollars are lost through these provisions, and it is time to restudy their value to the economy.
- The multi-billion dollar tax subsidies available for overseas operations—such as the Domestic International Sales Corporation—foreign tax credits and the deferral of taxes on overseas profits are in direct conflict with national need and restrict the availability of needed capital at home. They should be repealed. The

Overseas Private Investment Corporation should also be ended, as it encourages U.S. firms to invest abroad by insuring such investments against political risks.

- The tax benefits of state and local industrial development bonds should be curtailed and integrated into the overall approach to reindustrialization.

Employment and training programs

- The unemployed men and women who cannot find jobs in the private sector should be put to work on the various public service and public works projects that expand the services and facilities needed for a healthy economy. The skills and abilities of the unemployed must be put to productive purposes and not go wasted. These programs can be targeted to increase supply and economic efficiencies in key areas, thereby moderating price increases, while reducing unemployment.
- There should be expanded training programs for adult workers and youth. Training programs should provide new job skills and lead to employment opportunities.
- Direct, targeted jobs programs tailored to the specific needs of unemployed workers are two to four times more effective in creating jobs than generalized tax cuts.

IV. Restoring buying power

Federal taxes

The AFL-CIO calls for enactment of a refundable tax credit equal to 20 percent of the employee's and 5 percent of the employer's Social Security tax. Thus, the benefits would be concentrated on middle and low-income wage earners, those who have suffered the most from high inflation. It would more than offset the recent increases in Social Security taxes on workers and have no adverse effect on the financial stability of the Social Security trust fund.

Under such a tax program, a four-person family with a \$12,000 per year income would receive a \$160-a-year tax reduction compared with \$92 under the first year of the Kemp-Roth proposal. At \$25,000, the cut would be \$332 compared with \$305 under Kemp-Roth. At \$30,000 relief is about the same, and above those levels, the maximum relief is limited by Social Security payments and, thus, would not provide the open-ended, ever-growing windfall to the wealthy that Kemp-Roth would provide.

This individual Social Security tax credit would cost the Treasury approximately \$16 billion, or about half of the first-year cost of Kemp-Roth. The employer Social Security tax credit would cost the Treasury about \$4 billion, and benefit employers in labor-intensive industries.

Income support programs

Basic income support programs for the unemployed, the poor and the elderly must be maintained and improved to restore buying power lost to inflation.

When people are jobless, a minimum level of buying power is sustained by basic income support mechanisms such as unemployment insurance, trade adjustment assistance and food stamps. When inflation is high the elderly and the poor, who are forced to rely on government, also need their income protected by Social Security, welfare and Medicaid.

In order to curb inflation, reduce unemployment and solve fundamental problems, the resources of the country must be redirected. Additional capital investment is needed in many but not all industries and areas. Tax burdens should be lightened for many but not all individuals. The problems of the poor in our society must be solved, not aggravated.

TOWARD SOCIALISM
IN
AMERICA

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INPRINT

CRIME

Women killers don't get away with murder

Women Who Kill

By Ann Jones

Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
408 pp., \$15.95

By Carolyn Projansky

In 1731, Catherine Bevan, a middle aged matron of New Castle, Del., sent her servant "to buy some Rats Bane, or if he could not get that, some Roman Vitriol, which she gave her Husband to drink dissolved in a Glass of Wine." When that potion only made him weak, she finished the job herself. Bevan "twisted a Handkerchief round his Neck in order to strangle him."

In the American Colonies, where labor was scarce and family property rights jealously guarded, women enjoyed liberties unheard of back home in England. They were enticed to the New World with grants of land. They owned property, managed shops, and held state office. Women of Catherine Bevan's day were very nearly the equals of men under civil law. So they were punished like men. For their crimes women were "pilloried and set in stocks. They were publicly whipped, maimed, branded and forcibly held under water." Husband-murderers, women who boldly flouted the moral law of male dominion were charged not with murder but with "petit treason" or "treachery comparable to murdering the king." As befit the gravity of her crime, Catherine Bevan was sentenced "to be drawn to the gallows, and there to be burned alive."

In 1843, a "motherless New Jersey girl" of 18 followed Henry Ballard to New York's Astor House Hotel and "struck him with a knife, once, in the chest, just above the heart." After she bore his child, Ballard had abandoned Amelia Norman in a boarding house, telling her "to get her living as other prostitutes did." Norman struck back.

Brought to trial during a feverish crusade for "anti-seduction" legislation, Amelia Norman, the classic "seduced and abandoned maiden" became a public heroine. In the heyday of the Victorian era a woman's virtue was "the 'only' thing that gave her value in the mad-made commodity market." Even feminists—who knew that access to education, better jobs and decent wages would do more to "protect" women than anti-seduction laws—endorsed the campaign on Norman's behalf.

Norman's attorney used her trial, not to defend Norman—for there was no disputing her guilt—but to stir public outrage against Ballard. "The God of Heaven directed the blow," he said. It took the jury just eight minutes to find Amelia Norman not guilty and set her free.

In 1965, Alice Crimmins, a working-class housewife of 26, reported the disappearance of her two young children. The police found her daughter Missy lying dead in a vacant lot a half mile from home. During the investigation, Crimmins, "a 'shapely' woman in treader pants, her strawberry blond hair carefully teased and lacquered," made no effort to hide her extramarital activities. She was followed, her phone was tapped, and though the police could find no tangible evidence of her guilt, she was charged with murder.

Alice Crimmins was excoriated in the press as a "sexpot, a Circe, an amoral woman whose many affairs appeared symptomatic of America's Sex Revolution." One self-righteous reporter opined that even innocent of murder, she still would have "plenty to feel guilty about." To the authorities and a public terrified by the first stirrings of women's discontent, Alice Crimmins was guilty. "That kind" of woman was capable of murder because she was "sleeping around."

With little physical evidence and conflicting testimony, it took an all-out frontal assault by the criminal justice system, "three grand juries, two trials, a reinterpretation of appellate law and ten years" to put Alice Crimmins, the "housewife



The court found that Yvonne Wanrow acted in a "reasonable" and "justifiable" manner.

grown rebellious and out of control," behind bars.

Three women separated by three centuries of American history stood trial for the same crime—murder. Each was exploited for public edification, and each was judged by male authorities who cared little about evidence and guilt, but quite a bit about keeping women in their place.

Documenting murder.

In *Women Who Kill*, Ann Jones unearths nearly 400 years worth of murderous women. Meticulously researched and documented, this extraordinary social history of prominent murders by women is a powerful indictment of the criminal justice system, which according to Jones is carefully "enforced, interpreted and administered" by men to ensure their domination of women.

Her best sources are from the haphazard records of everyday life. Except for rare and frequently disparaging references to well-known criminologists like Cesare Lombroso and Frieda Adler, Jones bypasses the expert chroniclers of crime in favor of trial transcripts, lurid tabloid accounts and crumbling penny pamphlets in order to "reinterpret history as a feminist."

Backlash.

Jones writes to dispel the notion that feminism produces criminal behavior in women. Jones argues that the opposite is true. Noting a recent increase in arrests of women, she observes that "Agitation for women's rights always sparks enormous anxiety about the proper place of women in society." This anxiety emerges as a "wave of law enforcement" that is mistaken for a wave of crime. In spite of feminist rebellion, women today are no more and no less violent than they ever have been.

Continued on page 21

NOTEBOOK

Making a Show of It: A Guide to Concert Production
By Ginny Berson
Redwood Records, P.O. Box 996, Ukiah, CA 95482,
96 pp., \$4.95

If you want to produce a concert, a musical fundraiser or community event, this book is a good first place to turn.



It describes how to handle artists, theater owners, press agents, contracts and budgets for a show. The guide was produced by women who had tackled the problem of concert promotion and wanted to share this information with people who don't want or can't afford professional promoters and impresarios. **RS**

The Unknown Poe
Edited by Raymond Foye
City Lights Books, 117 pp.,
\$5.95

This lively compendium of otherwise inaccessible texts—marginalia, excerpts from letters, uncollected poems and book reviews—makes it clear that it is time to look again at one of America's most enigmatic and controversial literary figures: Edgar Allan Poe.

In his lifetime Poe's work enjoyed great popularity, as it does today. Partly because of this, perhaps, he always has been despised in U.S. intellectual circles. Only out-of-the-mainstream figures such as the eccentric nitrous-oxide philos-

opher Benjamin Paul Blood, specialists in the odd such as Lafcadio Hearn, and pulp horror writers such as H.P. Lovecraft have dared to declare themselves disciples of Poe.

As is true of virtually all of America's most popular writers—Mark Twain, O. Henry, Jack London, L. Frank Baum and Edgar Rice Burroughs—Poe's reputation abroad contrasts with his reputation at home. Outside the U.S. Poe has had the rare honor of belonging not only to "mass culture" but also to the *avant-garde*.

In France above all Poe always has been recognized as a *major source*; at each turn in the development of modern poetry, Poe was already there. A substantial section of this book presents little-known testimony in Poe's defense by Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Huysmans, Valéry and the surrealist André Breton.

Focusing on material slighted or completely overlooked elsewhere, this little volume contributes appreciably to clarifying the presence of the solitary dreamer Appollinaire hailed as "the marvelous drunkard of Baltimore." **RB**

The Detroit Model, a 35-minute color documentary

By Al Levin, re-edited and released by California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103
Rental: \$60

Newsreel has modified what was originally a Bill Moyers' Journal TV program on the current fit of the auto industry and the double pneumonia that Detroit has caught as a result. But it's also a more general depiction of how public and private decisions have become blurred and why—as Moyers makes explicit at the end—we need to begin planning for the public good and developing "industrial democracy." That involves, in part, as UAW president Doug Fraser says in the film, unions becoming participants in major corporate decisions, not just would-be defenders of workers reacting after the fact. Workers at a Ford local conference astutely discuss the implications of the new computerized technology and the "world car" for their jobs. Skillfully put together, *The Detroit Model* should be useful for college classes, labor and community education programs, and for unions in almost any industry. **DM**

Contributors: Ray Breitman, David Moberg and Robert Schaeffer.

ART <> ENTERTAINMENT

MEDIA

War of words heats up



By Herbert I. Schiller

The U.S. mass media adores war. A war offers the best opportunity for journalistic skill to be employed, supplies adventure and produces extra revenue for media proprietors. Drawn by accounts of daring and peril, circulation and audiences increase. The information war, however, which has been heating up for 15 years or more, is an exception to this rule. It is curious that this war is not covered because the media are participants in it rather than simply onlookers. All the same, this war has gone unreported by the daily TV, radio and press.

Beginning in the mid-'60s, most of the countries in the world have expressed dissatisfaction with the structure, control and content of international communications at numerous summit conferences of Third World leaders and in the biennial meetings of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The Third World and the socialist countries are unhappy with the Western media for many reasons. They object to transnational business' perspectives, the way that news is channeled through a few agencies, and the Western media's claim that it presents an objective account of what is happening in the world. They also object to the proliferation of media products from the U.S. and a few industrialized countries—advertising, TV programs, movies, magazines, records—which swamp viewers, readers and listeners in most parts of the globe. Sarah Goddard Power, U.S. Deputy

Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Social Affairs, speaking to the Economic Club of Detroit Dec. 5, 1980, said, "The developing countries complain bitterly about the fact—and we must acknowledge that it is a fact—that they are inundated by news and advertising coming from largely Western sources."

At UNESCO's 21st General Conference in Belgrade during October 1980, several nations' delegates expressed, as they often have in the past, their concern over the activities of transnational corporations, especially in the field of information and culture. The Conference agreed to encourage the creation of national information programs, to assist autonomous communication capacities of member states, to study and report on the sources of present informational imbalances—reflected in one-way information flows and information monopolies—and, to move ahead with efforts to define and articulate a new international information order.

The announcement by almost 150 states to develop a new world information order alarmed the Western information network, which consists of a few press syndicates, a score of media conglomerates and several dozen information industry giants.

The former editor of the *International Herald Tribune* described the Belgrade UNESCO meeting to the specialized audience of editors, journalists and academics who read the *Columbia Journalism Review* (Jan.-Feb. 1981) this way: "At Belgrade, in October, the Communist and Third World majority at UNESCO pushed Western governments in-

to a 'consensus' resolution that takes clear steps toward more government control of the media, including the concept of codes of conduct and definitions of 'responsible' reporting."

The *Los Angeles Times* offered its readers this interpretation of events at Belgrade: "Unesco is seeking no less than the powers of worldwide censorship of news that crosses international boundaries." And, "UNESCO, dominated by nations that view information solely as a tool of the State, approved an international conference in 1983 to review the performance of the press."

Philip Power of *Ad Age* says that billions of dollars are at stake in this battle.

Finally, Rosemary Righter, writing in the London-published *Intermedia* (Nov. 1980), and expressing the views of the editors and publishers of the *International Press Institute*; an ardent defender of the international information status quo, predicts: "Increased state intervention in the gathering and dissemination of news will be a reality of the 1980s. A larger role for government is implicit in the concept of a 'new world information order.'"

Righter takes some consolation from the possibility that the Belgrade agreements "may finally provoke Western realization that it must stop this slow erosion of freedom of the press and the flow of news and ideas." Western withdrawal from the UNESCO communications program is seen by Righter as one

way that this might be accomplished.

For the overwhelming majority of Americans who must rely on such press commentary, the issue of international information exchange is seen as a fraudulent issue provoked by the Soviet Union and Third World malcontents. The media has concealed from its audience the fact that the problem originates with the transnational corporate system and that the media, which reports on this conflict, has a vested interest in preserving that system.

High stakes.

It is only in the last decade that the transnational business system has been drawn into the information debate, largely because of the system's enormous and growing dependence on international communications. Media interests, important as they are, are no longer the chief international actors in this sector. The operation and integrity of the entire transnational business system is now being called into question.

Philip Power, publisher of 42 community newspapers, and a participant in the last three general UNESCO conferences, in an article in *Advertising Age* (Dec. 15), urgently called attention to these developments: "The stakes in the coming battle go far beyond editors and publishers, who, so far, have been the only ones involved. They extend to the great computer and information hardware companies whose foreign sales of billions of dollars are at stake; to the TV networks and movie makers whose entertainment products range the globe; to the airlines and banks and financial institutions whose need for computer-to-computer data literally defines their business; to the multi-million-dollar international advertising industry."

Deputy Assistant Secretary Sarah Power has warned: "Restrictions on the free flow of images, sounds and symbols across national borders would have profound implications for the U.S. economy and for our democratic society. Such restrictions

information about internal functions can jeopardize their sovereignty and leave them open to possible disruptions, ranging from uncontrollable technical failures to political sabotage." Moreover, "These concerns are not limited to the third world. Canadians also feel threatened by the implications of the information revolution in terms of their national identity."

The subcommittee recognized that most countries had a legitimate fear of information dependency and domination. It noted too that information "barriers" are being erected abroad to prevent further loss of sovereignty and that more actions of the sort could be expected. The Committee expressed its own concern that these developments were serious threats to the maintenance of the transnational corporate system.

The congressional group had no real answers to these developments. It recommended closer cooperation between the government and private sector. It called for streamlining the information policy-making process to achieve a "coherent" national stance. It emphasized the vital role of communications in preserving the global authority of the U.S.

Information policy has become a crucial element in the survival of the transnational economy. The longstanding Third World demand for a new international economic order is now fusing with its demand for a new international information order. The Third World has come to understand that the present, inequitable and exploitative system of global resource allocation is totally reliant on the new communication technologies and international information flows. It follows that change in the transnational system of production, distribution and finance, requires sweeping change in the structure, control and content of international communications.

Efforts to achieve these changes are presented in our media as attacks on individual American

Philip Power of *AD AGE*.

rights and liberties. In the near future, a distinction between the interests of the transnational corporate system and the people's welfare and knowledgeability will become evident. When that time arrives, the new international information and economic order will not appear to be so threatening.

Herbert I. Schiller teaches at the University of California, San Diego. His forthcoming book, *Who Knows: Information in the Age of the Fortune 500*, will be published by Ablex Pub. Co.

FILM

A Bronx cheer for cops

By Robert Schaeffer

The cops haven't the faintest clue who killed any of the eight victims that litter the neighborhood in *Fort Apache, The Bronx*. They have no motives, no leads, no suspects. When the war against crime goes this badly, when the cop's ability to keep the situation from deteriorating is exhausted, the order is passed: "Every man for himself...take no prisoners."

Fort Apache, a cowboy and Indian turned cops and robbers tale, hangs on a slender plot that is described and gratuitous. It confirms the South Bronx community's worst fears. Its residents are stereotyped as criminals and psychopaths and treated according to the old rule, "The only good Indian is a dead one."

Paul Newman plays the film's central figure, Murphy, a veteran cop assigned to the 41st precinct, which is surrounded by lawlessness and urban decay. The film focuses on the deterioration of patrolman Murphy's love life, his membership in the fraternity of cops, and his relationship with the community.

A lonely divorced man who lives in unhousekept squalor, Murphy strikes up a romance with a Puerto Rican nurse (Rachel Ticotin) who's impressed with his baby delivering skills. But her affection for heroin dooms their affair and he loses her to the needle.

Murphy gets along with his sharp-dressed Italian partner (Ken Wahl), but locks horns with the new precinct captain (Ed Asner) because he dislikes authority figures and desk jockeys. On the Force, Murphy is considered something of a "liberal" because he refuses to shoot a purse-snatcher on the run. He grows disenchanted with his fel-

low cops when one Archie Bunker type throws a Hispanic youth off a rooftop. His decision to report this unseemly behavior provides the only instance where the police come close to solving any of the film's homicides—but the chances of solving even this crime, in these post-Miami days, where the cops themselves are perpetrator and witness, are remote.

On his beat in the South Bronx Murphy is a good cop. He disarms a knife-wielding drunk with humor, saves a suicide-inclined transvestite from jumping off a roof, and delivers a Hispanic teenage mother's child. But the community sours on cops, even "good cops" when Asner tears apart the neighborhood looking for the killer of two of his men.

Murphy's attempt to swim against the tide of individual and collective moral and physical disintegration that surrounds him is heroic but futile. His struggle against urban decay, even though it is futile, is the ostensibly "liberal" message of the movie. But Murphy's failure to make a difference—to save his girlfriend from herself, to change the bigoted hostility of the cops on the Force, or to cool-out a community about to explode—undermines his heroism.

In the end, the film's makers have Murphy splatter the two pushers who sold bad smack to his girlfriend and thereby unknowingly avenge her death. But his vengeance is contrived: he shoots it out with the bad guys who have taken hostages in a hospital while his girlfriend lies dying in the emergency room below. The scene attempts to justify his temporary role as "tough cop" and a way to get even for his sweetheart's death. But one suspects that he is really no different from the rest of the force, that lurking beneath the surface of his good-humored character is

a person whose latent anger, hostility and contempt for the people around him could explode in violence.

Nice cop, tough cop.

Newman and Asner together play the old routine of nice cop, tough cop. The nice cop plays it cozy with the suspect, the tough cop threatens to squash the sus-



Paul Newman plays a nice cop, Ed Asner a tough cop, in *FORT APACHE, THE BRONX*.

pect, the nice cop restrains him, and the suspect, grateful for this protection, confides in the nice cop. First the cup of coffee, then the rubber hose. In *Fort Apache* the community as a whole is suspect. Newman plays the sympathetic cop on the block while Asner sweeps the streets of hookers and hustlers and rousts suspected radicals from the neighborhood in an effort to shake loose information about the cop killer. Asner doesn't coddle the com-

munity, as Newman does, but metes out collective punishment for an individual crime. When the station is besieged by a bottle-throwing mob angered by the cops punitive campaign, precinct captain Asner gives them five minutes to disperse, and when they refuse nonchalantly orders a subordinate to "Gas 'em."

But in *Fort Apache* the old nice cop/tough cop approach doesn't work any more. The nice cop's efforts are futile and the tough cop's strategy counterproductive. Neither produces the cop killer and neither stems the rising tide of social violence. The old routines no longer work, and the police have no ideas or solutions to offer to replace them. There is

tip-of-the-hat to the "law abiding" citizens of the community. They then proceed to have an angel-dusted prostitute kill two cops at close range for no apparent reason. The wanton slaughter that follows in the next two hours is indiscriminate. A few cowboys die: two cops (one black and one white) and a motorist whose car pulls up lame in hostile territory. But more Indians die: a Chicano nurse, two Chicano pushers, a Hispanic youth and a black prostitute. Final score: cowboys 5, Indians 3.

It is ironic that the makers of *Fort Apache* should be charged with racism. Asner and Newman have long been associated with liberal causes. In a recent inter-

view Newman defended the film

as depicting certain sobering realities and said, "The film is tough, but it's toughest on cops." Director David Petrie and producer David Susskind worked together in the '60s on *A Raisin in the Sun*, which championed racial integration and urban peace. But *Fort Apache, the Bronx* is a sad rebuttal to their earlier effort and a sorry commentary on the present bankruptcy of liberal ideas.

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Killers

Continued from page 19

Women commit about 15 percent of all murders, "for as long as anyone has kept records anywhere." According to Jones, criminologists inquire into the nature of violence by women only during periods of social instability and change and produce studies "mired in prevailing cultural stereotypes" that are used to justify an anti-feminist backlash. "Ordinary women" who find no practical alternatives react to oppression with violence. "The same social and legal deprivations that compel some women to feminism push others to homicide," argues Jones.

Much of the time, Jones is persuasive that women kill from desperation. Women like Rebekah Chambliss, who in 1753 killed her bastard child to escape "shame, ridicule, infamy and exile," do evoke sympathy. Infanticide, as Jones documents, was used in the 17th and 18th centuries as a last-resort form of abortion to protect women of good families from social ruin.

But Jones does not tell a selective history. Her tale of Belle Gunness, who butchered a dozen men for "fun and profit," is one case that pro-

duces not sympathy but horror. It is somewhat unsettling to read that "Belle Gunness merely applied to the domestic sphere the 'cut-throat' tactics of the business world." Unlike men, however, women usually kill their intimates (there are no cases of random violence here), but they do not always kill in self-defense.

Jones wields remarkable control over her material. Writing with precision and wit, she manages to describe lurid and bloody crimes with objectivity.

She traces trends of violence, from infanticides in the colonies, to husband-poisonings in the Victorian age, on through an assortment of shootings, stabbings, stranglings carried out by women retaliating against male domination and ends with the current wave of self-defense murders by battered wives.

Jones weaves into her case studies an intricate analysis of male motivation. She describes the frequently absurd contortions of the male imagination, as lawyers, judges and juries attempt to act out their idealized image of women in their treatment of women who kill.

Jones is at her best before 1970. As she turns her attention to the present, her perceptions become somewhat distorted by her politics. The final chapter of *Women Who Kill* discusses the recent and highly publicized murders by bat-

tered women. Jones argues that we're now seeing the beginnings of a new legal backlash against women who kill in self-defense.

It is true that the media has created a distorted picture that women are getting away with murder. Yet the publicity surrounding the plight of battered women likely has raised the consciousness of some battered women who previously had suffered in silence. There have been as many convictions during this period as acquittals. Yet, there have been acquittals. The case of Yvonne Wanrow ended, as Jones points out, in a landmark decision where the court found that "a woman who killed to save herself or her children from imminent danger of death or great bodily injury might be acting in a 'reasonable' and 'justifiable' manner."

It is also true that any woman who strikes back—even after years of beatings and abuse—faces an uphill battle to prove she is a victim, not a criminal. But it is because the self-defense formula has been used with success that this legal backlash has begun.

If Jones is right, the backlash will infect criminal trials in the way that Jones believes it has in the past. As a feminist, I only hope she is wrong.

Carolyn Projansky is a co-director of the Public Resource Center in Washington, D.C.

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Cuts

Continued from page 3

now total over \$300 billion. They were largely untouched, as generalized corporate tax relief was expanded. And defense spending increased beyond the 3 percent real increase in Carter's budget.

Some of the Reagan cuts are fair, in part or in whole, and some don't go far enough. Synfuels don't need any federal aid, for example. Milk price supports can be lowered, but why keep tobacco subsidies? Student loans can be reduced if the money is directed toward low and middle-income students and not simply reduced across the board. But most of the Reagan cuts make the rich richer and the poor poorer as well as speed America towards becoming a garrison state.

What would we cut if we were in the White House? There are easily 20 cuts in direct spending or in tax expenditures and related tax breaks that would save the government \$67.2 billion. With these cuts, the 1982 budget would enjoy a \$39.7 billion surplus, money that could go for rebuilding the cities, our transportation system and our energy capabilities as well as improve the quality of life with programs such as a comprehensive national health service.

Synthetic fuels: With energy prices deregulated and oil company profits soaring, there is no reason to subsidize the already suspect synfuel program. *Savings: \$19.2 billion.*

Nuclear energy: The nuclear industry has already received \$37 billion in federal tax subsidies. Current programs include the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, which is politically dangerous and technically obsolete. The nuclear industry is also subsidized by the Price-Anderson act, which underwrites private liabilities for nuclear plant accidents. *Savings: \$1.5 billion.*

Oil company tax subsidies: Despite soaring profits, oil companies still receive special tax deductions for "intangible drilling costs." Independents receive an oil depletion allowance. *Savings: \$5.2 billion.*

Multinational corporation tax subsidies: U.S. corporations operating overseas pay taxes on their profits only if they are repatriated. Corporations doing business in U.S. possessions also receive a special subsidy. And Domestic International Sales Corporations (DISC)—which subsidize corporate exporters—have been shown to have a miniscule effect on U.S. trade. *Savings: \$3.4 billion.*

Capital gains subsidies: Heirs do not have to pay any capital gains on capital assets they inherit. And ordinary incomes in industries like hog farming are treated as capital gains and so taxed below the regular income rates. *Savings: \$6.5 billion.*

Expense account deductions: Besides 3-

martini lunches, businesspeople also deduct hunting lodges, luxury boxes at the Super Bowl and foreign villas. *Savings: \$2 billion.*

Industrial development bonds: Cities use these bonds (\$7 billion worth in 1980) to provide low-interest loans to developers and businesses. Many of the country's McDonalds were built with IDBs. Unless targeted to truly worthy projects, this program should be axed. *Savings: \$1.6 billion.*

Airport user fees: The government is picking up the tab for new "reliever airports" so that private pilots do not land their planes at large commercial airports. Why don't the plane owners pay? *Savings: \$510 million.*

Highway system: Among the interstate highways still to be completed are New York City's controversial Westway project, the Rhode Island I-84, which would drain into Providence's drinking water, and an expressway through the Everglades. *Savings: \$1.8 billion.*

Agricultural subsidies: Although programs to stabilize farm production and prices as well as disperse ownership of America's farms require federal intervention, many of the current subsidies do this inefficiently or else help mainly big farmers. Changes could be made in milk price supports, tobacco subsidies and a variety of other special aids. *Savings: \$900 million.*

Water projects: At least nine major projects of the Army Corps of Engineers are expensive boondoggles that would seriously damage the environment, among them the Tennessee-Tombigbee waterway, the Red River waterway, Mississippi Lock and Dam No. 26 and the Central Arizona Project. *Savings: \$1 billion.*

Hospital cost containment: Rather than capping Medicaid, which will simply deprive many poor people of needed health care, control doctor and hospital charges. *Savings: \$7.3 billion.*

Flagrant tax abuses: Oil companies get a dollar knocked off their U.S. taxes for every dollar in tax they pay overseas, even though much of that "tax" is royalty payment and should qualify only as a business deduction (\$1.9 billion). Many rich investors manipulate the commodity market to construct "tax straddles," also known as the "silver butterfly," to escape taxes by converting current income into long-term, lower-tax capital gains income (\$1.3 billion). *Savings: \$3.2 billion.*

The MX: The MX missile is environmentally, militarily and economically dangerous. The U.S. should rely on its submarine-based missiles rather than land-based missiles for survival against a Soviet counterforce strike. *Savings: \$2.93 billion.*

Anti-ballistic missiles: An ABM is unnecessary if the U.S. does not rely on its land-based missiles. *Savings: \$349 million.*

F-18 Naval fighter: This plane was supposed to be a low-cost option to the F-14, but it has turned out to be just as

expensive and not as effective. *Savings: \$2.47 billion.*

CG-47 Aegis Cruiser: This ship is supposed to protect aircraft carriers against Soviet missile attack, but there is no evidence anything could protect an aircraft carrier against a Soviet missile attack. Frigates can be used to protect aircraft carriers in other eventualities. *Savings: \$2.19 billion.*

XM-1 Tank: This tank is intended for Europe and for use with the rapid deployment force in the Mideast. But it breaks down in dust, and is too heavy to ship; it would therefore be of little RBF use. Funds can be cut in half. *Savings: \$600 million.*

Ground cruise missile: Unlike the air cruise missiles, which can be counted by examining airplanes, the ground missiles are relatively immune to any verification procedures. At the same time, there are other missiles that can serve the same purpose. *Savings: \$486 million.*

Defense Department waste: By their own calculation, the Reagan administration estimates \$2.9 billion could be cut through better attention to the use of consultants, stricter contracting, and so on. One GOP study last year put the figure even higher, and Sen. Howard Metzenbaum estimates \$5 billion could be saved. *Savings: \$4 million.*

In many cases, the annual savings from these changes will increase significantly beyond Fiscal Year 1982 benefits shown above. There are, of course, hundreds of other budget cuts that could be proposed as well as new programs that would use the nation's resources more efficiently. SALT II and SALT III, as well as troop reductions in Europe, could cut the military budget further. But without indulging in political fantasies, it is clear that there are ways to cut the budget now without crushing the poor.

(Thanks to Congress Watch, Stephen Dagget of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy and Tom Hall of Sen. Howard Metzenbaum's office for their research.)

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March 10

Soviet Policy and the Third World. Fred Halliday, who recently returned from Kabul, Afghanistan, is an authority on the Middle East and will speak on his experiences and observations. He has written for "The Nation" and "In These Times" and is the author of "Iran: Dictatorship and Development." Admission is free. At the Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Drive, at 7:30 p.m. For more information, call 749-7000.

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Boal

Continued from page 24
programmed as the industrial worker on the assembly-line.

Nowadays, you ascribe a negative connotation to the idea of a passive spectator, which you usually term as "obscene." How do you explain the fact that theater made by active players for passive audiences has survived for so many centuries, in the most diverse social and political contexts? Doesn't this permanence suggest that such a division of functions reflects a social need?

I don't think so. Both the Greek theater and the Mayan theater, for instance, were born from festivals in which everybody participated. The introduction of that division is authoritarian in itself. Look what happened in Greece: first there were the dithyrambs, then the actors were set apart from the audience, and finally, among the actors, the protagonist was separated from the chorus. In an explicit or implicit way, the people were identified with the stage crowd, the protagonist being an aristocrat in relation to it.

However, since I'm also a playwright, it's obvious that I can't be against a kind of theater composed of actors and public. For me the word "spectator" becomes obscene when the theatergoer is nothing but a spectator and the actor is exclusive-

ly an actor—I mean, when the spectator is unable to assume an active role. The same happens in education, whenever the student becomes a specialist in the act of learning and forgets that he too ought to teach what he thinks. Paolo Freire termed this situation "bank-account scholarship"—the student goes to school in order to have ideas put in his head, and leaves the school mechanized.

On the other hand, I believe that being a spectator is a necessary moment in the dialogue. Just like two people talking: when one of them speaks, the other listens; the second one plays the role of the spectator for the first. A verbal dialogue cannot be simultaneous; two people can caress each other at the same time, but on the verbal level it's much more difficult. The essential point is that both of them speak.

Therefore, what I want in the theater are moments for the spectator to sit, to see and to listen, and also moments for the spectator to take the floor and speak. In order to make all this come true, we need another kind of theater, and that's what we are trying to create: a kind of theater that is not against the others, does not replace the others and does not come into being because the others became obsolete. We believe that there is a possibility that has not been explored yet, an alternative. One can play a tragedy, a melodrama, a comedy, and one can play another kind of drama called Forum Theater. Why not do it, then?

This was excerpted from an interview that appeared in the Fall 1980 issue of Theater.

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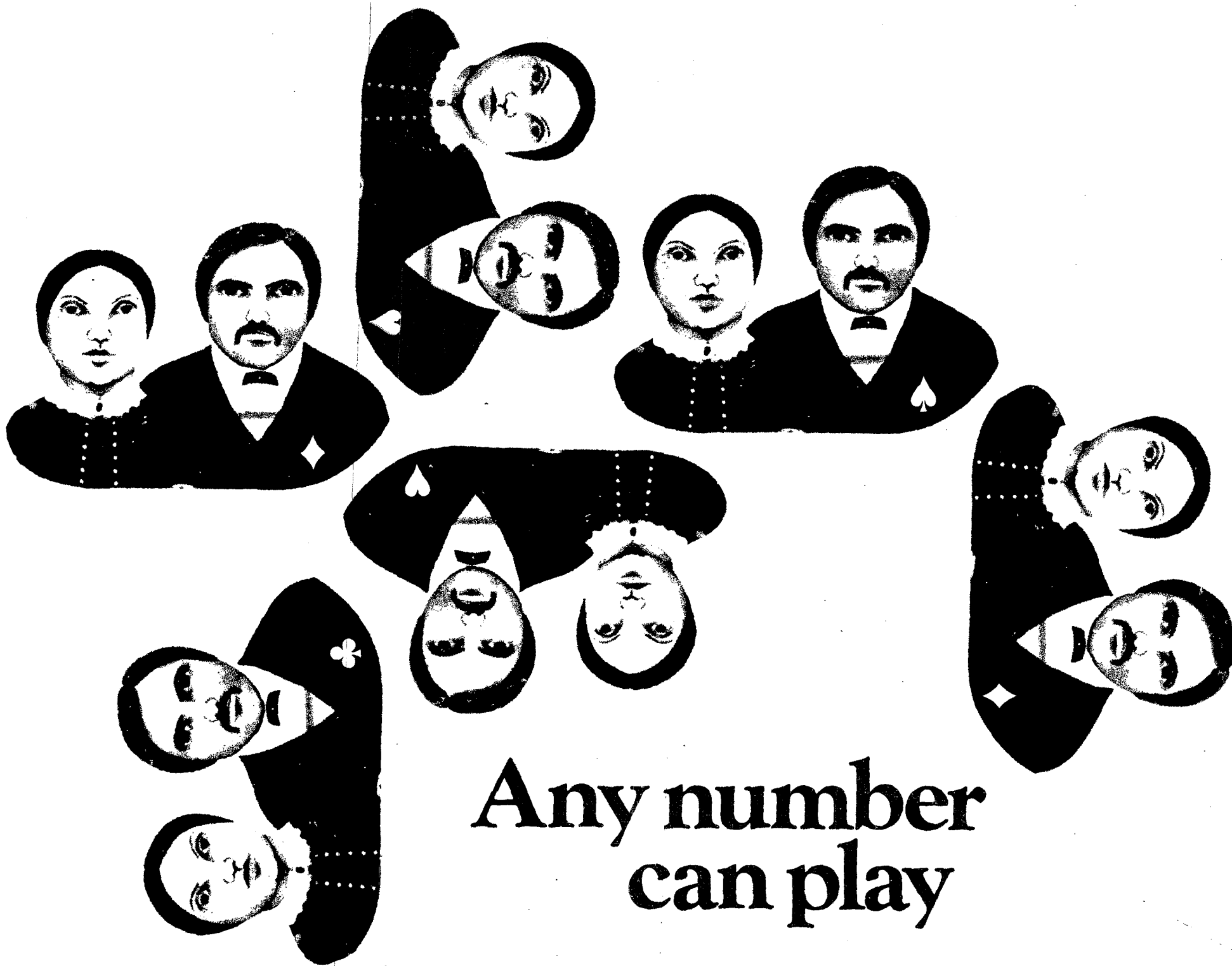
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Any number can play

Brazilian playwright Augusto Boal revamps Third World theater.



By Yan Michalski

Augusto Boal is a prominent Brazilian director and playwright. He served as artistic director of the Arena Theater of Sao Paulo from 1956 until 1971. He fled Brazil in 1971 after being arrested and tortured for his political activities. He lectured at international theater festivals and wrote *Categories of Popular Theater and Theater of the Oppressed* during his exile. Boal returned to Brazil in November of 1978. In Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo he conducted workshops on his theater techniques.

The following interview with Boal was conducted by Brazilian theater critic Yan Michalski and translated by Antonio Mercado.

How did the "Invisible Theater" first take shape?

The Image Theater and the Forum Theater first appeared in Peru, while I was working with teachers of reading and writing in a huge campaign for literacy promoted by the Velasco government. We had to face a serious problem: in several regions where reading and writing were to be taught in Spanish, the people used to speak *quetchua* or another Indian language. There was one region, Loreto, where Indians spoke 45 different languages, not to mention dialects. They spoke Spanish, too, but poorly. They resisted speaking Spanish in order to protect their own culture. They understood it, but acted as if they didn't. It was then

that I started to develop the Image Theater and the Forum Theater. The "image" techniques appeared because at least 80 of my 120 teachers were Indian-born. For them silence was a weapon. I talked and talked, and they just stared at me. Dialogue was extremely difficult. They were teachers of reading and writing who had come to take the course by their own choice. I began to get nervous and finally said, "If you don't want to speak, at least show something, show me an image!" And that's how the four or five basic techniques of "image" appeared.

The Forum Theater started at the same time. It was necessary to help the Peruvians find solutions to their problems. For instance, the owner of the local mill that produced fish flour forced the workers to labor 12 hours a day. What could they do? If they went on strike, the boss would fire everybody; if someone slowed down production, the boss would discover who was doing it and fire them. Finally, someone suggested that instead of slowing down the production the workers make it faster, for the machine could take only a certain load, otherwise it jammed. They rehearsed that idea in the Forum Theater; then they went back to the mill. They filled the machine with more fish than it could take, and the mill broke down. Until the engineer fixed it, the workers had about three or four hours to rest, to sleep, or take care of personal business. It was a temporary solution, which was obviously anything but revolutionary, but it filled an immediate need of the people.

I heard about a similar case at the end of the liberation war in Mozambique. The Mozambican and Portuguese armies had to meet to discuss the armistice, but the Mozambicans did not know how to



behave at the meeting. So they formed two groups and began to rehearse. The first group played the Mozambican officers, the other half played the Portuguese. "Now," they said, "let's see what happens: the Portuguese knock at the door and enter, holding machine guns. Are we going to let them enter that way, or should we order them to hang their machine guns on the door? Surely it's better to tell them in advance to come unarmed, otherwise there may be trouble." In short, all the rituals of the meeting were analyzed by means of Forum Theater. They did not know that they were creating Forum Theater, and they hadn't read my books either. It was spontaneous.

In Europe problems have not needed such an urgent solution. When I got to Sweden the Image Theater and the Forum Theater were needed for other reasons. For reasons that are completely different from those of the Peruvian Indian, the Swedish seldom speak. We used to ask, "What are your problems? What do you want to do?" But the answers were so ambiguous, so vague that we couldn't define the problem on which the Forum should be based. A woman whose parents were divorced lived alone in a five-bedroom apartment and missed having a family. She invited friends to live with her, but the family ritual was not the same. She thought of getting married in order to have her own family, but at the same time she did not want to give up freedom in her sexual life. In other words, she wanted everything, and didn't want it, at the same time. Finally I said, "If you don't want to settle on a concrete

problem we can't do any Forum at all." She replied, "Why can't we make a Chekhovian Forum? Does the Forum exist only to solve concrete problems? Isn't it also to find out what the problem is?"

So we tried to use the Forum not to find solutions but to discover problems that we know exist but are undefined. I realized that the Forum Theater does not need to be only a search for solutions.

Could we conclude, then, that in Third World countries the "Theater of the Oppressed" tends to stress the social aspects of reality, while in the industrial countries it emphasizes the psychological side?

Maybe. But I wouldn't put it so bluntly. It is important to notice that even in Europe, where we used to say that there is a strong psychological oppression, there are a lot of cops in the minds of the people, but there are also a lot of cops on the streets. There are many concrete problems too: unemployment, lack of security for the workers, besides the anguish that comes from insecurity. Repression there is more sophisticated. The people are led to believe that they live in a democracy where one can do everything, though actually one can't. There is an established rite for everything, and if you don't avoid it, your family life gets as

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